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An Introduction
to
Old French
Phonology and Morphology

Revised and Enlarged

By

FREDERICK BLISS LUQUIENS

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TO

EUGENE F. BLISS

PREFACE

This grammar is intended not only to introduce beginners to the study of Old French phonology and morphology from the historical point of view, but also to facilitate their progress to an advanced grammar.

The latter aim has governed the arrangement of the book, inasmuch as the author has endeavored to reproduce, even to the paragraph-notation, the arrangement of that advanced grammar which is by most teachers considered the best—the *Grammatik des Altfranzösischen* of Eduard Schwan and Dietrich Behrens.* He trusts that he has thus made it possible for students to acquire, before beginning to use the *Grammatik des Altfranzösischen*, a lasting appreciation of its logicalness of structure, a quality which, in the *Grammatik* itself, is all but obscured by the complexities of detail unavoidable in an advanced grammar. Even after the step from the elementary to the advanced grammar, the former will perhaps be useful for a time, not only by its elucidations of difficult points, but also by its renderings into English of important technical terms. Thus students may be able to gain gradually, almost unconsciously, the ability to use a tool by means of which practically all the problems of Old French phonology and morphology can be solved.

The omission of an alphabetical index is intentional. It is essential that students shall thoroughly understand the structure of the elementary grammar, in order to understand, later, that of the *Grammatik*. An alphabetical index, therefore, might prove detrimental, inasmuch as it would allow them to overlook the table

* *Grammatik des Altfranzösischen* von Dr. Eduard Schwan, neu bearbeitet von Dr. Dietrich Behrens; zehnte Auflage; Leipzig, 1914. There is a French translation: *Grammaire de l'ancien français*, traduction française d'après la 4me édition allemande, par Oscar Bloch, avec une préface de F. Brunot; Leipzig, 1900.

of contents, or to shirk the use of cross-references, thus hindering them from realizing how logical that structure is.

The book contains several pedagogical devices unusual in Old French grammars. For instance, the irregular verbs are presented after the manner of most grammars of modern French, with the methods of which students of Old French are presumably acquainted. Again, in most of the paradigms Old French forms and related Latin forms are so presented that even a slight knowledge of Latin may help the memory. A glossary of technical terms has been provided for those who are not used to the historical study of language.

Much in the book may impress adepts in Old French as too categorical. To the author, however, it often seemed expedient, for pedagogical reasons, to leave the beginner in ignorance of confusing difficulties. No harm will result, for the student will find those difficulties presented and discussed in the *Grammatik*. Nor should the occasional occurrence of absolute differences between the two grammars lead to confusion, for the excellent bibliography of the *Grammatik* will always supply a means of independent decision. And in the investigation of all such difficulties and differences, if we may press once more the point already emphasized, the student will be greatly aided by the fact that his three tools—the elementary grammar, the *Grammatik*, and the latter's bibliography—correspond in paragraph-notation.

It is evident, from what has already been said, that the author is immeasurably indebted to the scholarship, as well as to the practical skill, of the writers of the *Grammatik des Altfranzösischen*. Moreover, since in an elementary grammar it is hardly feasible to acknowledge indebtedness in detail, he acknowledges a general indebtedness to investigators in the field of Romance philology, especially, of course, to those two masters, Professor Kr. Nyrop, and Professor W. Meyer-Lübke.

For personal assistance throughout his work he is inexpressibly grateful to Professor H. R. Lang and to Professor A. S. Cook. To

Professor Hanns Oertel, to Professor C. U. Clark, and to Professor C. C. Clarke, Jr., he owes several important suggestions.

Those who use this book, either as teachers or as students, will find errors—not too many, let us hope. Doubtless they will also desire, on pedagogical grounds, various additions and subtractions. For all criticisms the author will be extremely thankful. Such help will be invaluable in the event of a second edition.

FREDERICK BLISS LUQUIENS.

Sheffield Scientific School of Yale University, June, 1909.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

This edition has not only been carefully revised. In order that teachers may understand how the book may be most effectively used, a chapter of explicit instructions has been added to the Appendix.

The revision and the additions could not have been made without the assistance of Mr. R. J. Menner, who is at present giving a course in Old French in the Yale Graduate School. The author cannot adequately express his gratitude to Mr. Menner.

F. B. L.

Sheffield Scientific School of Yale University, November, 1917.

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APPENDIX

How to Use this Book.

AN INTRODUCTION TO
OLD FRENCH PHONOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGY

ERRATA

- p. 38, par. 84, for O.F. *venire*, read *venir*.
- p. 42, par. 105, delete * before *capu*.
- p. 45, par. 133, for pronunciation, read pronunciation.
- p. 68, par. 282½, for *plānte*, read *plānte*; *plāte*, read *plāte*.
- p. 87, par. 332, for *ico* and *co* throughout, read *iço*, and *ço*.
- p. 96, l. 6 from bottom, for *Week*, read *Weak*.
- p. 99, l. 1, for *trait*, read *trait*-.

INTRODUCTION

HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL SURVEY

1-4. Old French was the transitional stage between Latin and modern French. By 'Latin,' however, we do not mean the standard Latin of grammars and dictionaries, the so-called Classical Latin, written by authors and declaimed by orators just before and just after the beginning of our era. We mean what scholars term Vulgar Latin, that language which was Rome's medium of informal intercourse from the earliest days to the fall of the Western Roman Empire, a constantly developing language, Classical Latin being the artificial perfection and crystallization of one of its stages. This Vulgar Latin, carried abroad by Roman soldiers and colonists, was forthwith adopted by the nations which had been conquered and Romanized. But it developed differently in the various provinces, partly because of differences in the date of Romanization, partly because of differences in the nations Romanized, thus resulting in the various Romance languages. The Vulgar Latin carried into northern Gaul developed into Old French. So gradual was the change that it is impossible to say when Vulgar Latin ceased and Old French began; for reasons of convenience, however, the year 600 of our era is often adopted as the point of demarcation.

We have spoken of the 'development' of that language which is called, in its successive stages, Vulgar Latin, Old French, and modern French. We mean that this language, from its beginnings until now, has ever been changing in accordance with unchanging tendencies. For the genius of a language consists of tendencies just as marked, and just as inexplicable, as those which constitute the genius of a nation. In the case of the language in question two such tendencies are dominant: the one governing the

development of its pronunciation ; the other, that of its grammatical forms. Its pronunciation has constantly shown an extreme tendency toward contraction. This becomes very clear on comparing different stages, so to speak, of one and the same sentence. Let us take the modern French sentence *Voici le soleil qui disparaît derrière ces nuages*, and present it successively at its Vulgar Latin, Old French, and modern French stage (Vulgar Latin and Old French were pronounced practically as they look ; for the modern French we use the phonetic signs explained in 13-14) :

Vide ecce-hic illum soliculum qui disparescit de-retro ecce-istos nubaticos.

Veit ci le soleil qui dispareist deriedre ces nuages.

Vvasil sɔləy ki dɔsparɛ dɛryɛr sɛ nuaʒ.†

So much for the pronunciation. As to the grammatical forms, they have constantly tended toward a more analytic condition. For example, whereas early Vulgar Latin possessed six cases in noun-declension, Old French possessed only two, and modern French possesses only one ; this decrease in inflected forms necessitating, naturally, a corresponding increase of prepositional constructions.

This grammar, then, is a history of how Old French developed, in accordance with these two innate tendencies, out of Vulgar Latin and into modern French.

Note. Our knowledge of Vulgar Latin is based mainly on (1) remarks of ancient and mediæval grammarians, who often mention words and expressions as contrary to the best usage ; (2) certain linguistic remains, such as inscriptions and private documents, which contain informal Latin ; (3) inferences from the comparative study of the Romance languages. Our knowledge of Old French is based mainly on documents of the times. But since the oldest document is of the ninth century, the beginnings of Old French must be inferred from later Old French and from Vulgar Latin.

5. Old French contained, in addition to the Vulgar Latin words which formed the greater part of its vocabulary, a very few Celtic

† These examples are taken, with several modifications, from Arsène Darmesteter's *Cours de Grammaire Historique de la Langue Française*, § 122.

words, the scanty linguistic legacy of the pre-Roman inhabitants of Gaul; and some hundreds of Germanic words, contributed by the Germanic invaders of the fifth and sixth centuries.

6. Old French was spoken in almost all of the northern half of France. The peninsula of Brittany, though Romanized during the first centuries of our era, had been re-Celtized, during the fifth and sixth centuries, by Celts from England. In the southern half of France another of the Romance languages, Provençal, was spoken.

7. Old French was divided into dialects. We are accustomed to call these dialects by the names of the mediæval provinces of France. Of these dialects the most important was the Ile de France dialect.

8. Ile de France was that province of which Paris was the capital. As Paris became politically more and more important, the Ile de France dialect was more and more widely accepted as the best French. After the middle of the twelfth century the majority of the authors of northern France used it, and to this day the Ile de France dialect is the standard French. This grammar is a grammar of the mediæval Ile de France dialect only, but we use the term Old French for various reasons of convenience.

9. It is of course impossible to say just when Old French became modern French. We may arbitrarily choose 1515, the year in which Francis I ascended the throne, to mark the end of Old French. For convenience of treatment, we shall cut the whole Old French period in two at about the year 1100. From ca. 600 to ca. 1100 we shall call the 'first Old French period'; from ca. 1100 to ca. 1515 the 'second Old French period.'

PART I

PHONOLOGY

CHAPTER I

GENERAL REMARKS ON PHONOLOGICAL CHANGES

10-11. As a language passes from one period of its existence into another, its sounds undergo a great number of changes, called 'phonological changes.' These changes are not capricious; on the contrary, they show great regularity. For example, the *c* of very many Vulgar Latin words changed to Old French *ch*. When this change is more closely examined, however, it appears: (1) that it took place throughout the province of Ile de France, but that it did not take place in certain other provinces; (2) that it took place only during the first Old French period; i. e., that any *c* which had not changed to *ch* by ca. 1100, did not do so after that date; (3) that in the Ile de France dialect of the first period, it practically never took place unless *c* was followed by *a*; and, furthermore, unless such a *c* was either initial in a word, or initial in a syllable preceded by a syllable ending in a consonant. In other terms, the change was limited (1) in space, (2) in time, and (3) by the relation of the sound in question to adjacent sounds. As we find that all phonological changes which we are able to investigate are subject to these three restrictions, we are led to the following general assumption: like sounds, within like limits of space and time, and standing in like relations to adjacent sounds, develop in like manner. It is because of their belief in this general assumption that grammarians present phonological changes in the form of rules or 'laws.' Part I of this book is a systematic presentation of the 'phonological laws' of Old French.

The influence of analogy often causes like sounds within like limits of space and time to develop in different ways. For example, the early Vulgar Latin word *gravem* became in later Vulgar Latin *grevem* (although regularly *a* remained unchanged throughout the Vulgar Latin period) from analogy with *levem*, with which it had in common the idea of weight.

Syntactic conditions sometimes cause like sounds within like limits of space and time to develop in different ways. For example, the Vulgar Latin personal pronoun *me* resulted, when stressed, in Old French *mei*; when unstressed, in Old French *me*. Phenomena of this kind are called phenomena of 'syntactic phonology.'

Note. Every phonological change has a cause and a manner. In this grammar, however, we shall deal with neither, except in very rare cases: to state the cause of a phonological change is seldom possible (cf. page 11, line 25); to describe the manner would require too much space. We may illustrate by a discussion of the change, during the Vulgar Latin period, of *ɪ* to *ē* (this is the change mentioned in 16-20). It is impossible to state the cause of this change. But its manner may be described. First, as to the change of *ɪ* to *e*, without considering the change in quantity: to pronounce the Vulgar Latin sound *ɪ* (approximately the sound of *i* in English *pin*) the tongue had to be raised quite high; the people of early France, however, contracted the habit of not raising the tongue so high when they attempted that sound; but, if the tongue is raised not quite high enough for *ɪ*, the result is *e* (approximately the sound of *e* in English *they*), as self-experiment will easily prove. Secondly, as to the fact that *ɪ* became *ē* rather than *ɛ*: *e* may be pronounced either 'close' or 'open' (compare English *they* and *there*), the tongue being raised higher for close *e*; when *ɪ* was slurred, the tongue at least attained to the next highest elevation, that of close *e*; but in Vulgar Latin close vowels were usually long, and the close *e* which resulted from *ɪ* was no exception. Thus we have fully described the manner of the change *ɪ* to *ē*: it is evident that a brief grammar cannot, except in rare cases, afford space for such description.

12. Words may be either inherited or borrowed. An inherited word is one which has been present in a language from the beginning of that language; in the case of Old French, from ca. 600. A borrowed word is one taken into a language after the beginning. A borrowed word is seldom affected by a phonological change which has run its

course previous to the date of borrowing: *imperator*, for instance, which Old French borrowed ca. 800 from the degenerate Classical Latin (called by some scholars of to-day 'Late Latin,' by others 'Low Latin') which writers were then using, never dropped the post-secondary-stress *e* (compare modern French *empereur*), as all inherited words had done before ca. 800 (compare Old French *temprer*, from Vulgar Latin *temperare*). This grammar leaves borrowed words out of consideration, except in a few especial instances.

Note. Many Old French words were neither inherited nor borrowed, but came into existence by the process called word-formation. For example, Old French *partage* was not the direct descendant of any Vulgar Latin word, but was the Old French stem *part-* (compare Old French *partir*, from Vulgar Latin *partire*) plus the Old French suffix *-age* (from Vulgar Latin *-aticum*). Grammarians call such words *derivatives*.

13-14. The student should constantly refer to this section. The orthography of mediæval manuscripts hinders, rather than helps, our understanding of mediæval pronunciation (compare modern orthography, which presents many incongruities with modern pronunciation). Writers sometimes used traditional orthography for a sound long after that sound had completely changed; sometimes, on the other hand, invented misleading methods of expressing new sounds. Therefore we shall often have to resort to phonetic transcription of our examples. But invariable use of phonetic symbols might prevent the student from gaining any definite idea of mediæval orthography. Therefore we shall use them, as a rule, for only that sound (of our illustrative words) which is under discussion. Let caution be used in regard to the other sounds of an example. For instance, in the Old French word *vertut*, given as an example in 84, we phonetically transcribe only the *ɛ*; the *u*, however, is not pronounced like *ou* in modern French *tour* (as is the phonetic symbol *u*), nor like *oo* in English *book* (as is the phonetic symbol *ʊ*), nor is the final *t* pronounced like English *t*; the pronunciation of these

sounds is explained, and phonetically transcribed, in the sections dealing with the development of Vulgar Latin stressed *ʒ* and Vulgar Latin *t*. But sounds other than the one under discussion at the moment will be represented phonetically whenever their pronunciation presents difficulties not easily solvable. When the phonetic transcription of a word or sound is so peculiar as to make identification difficult, the mediaeval orthography will be added in brackets [].

The student should understand the following general principles of phonetic transcription. A dot under a vowel signifies that the vowel is 'close'; that is, uttered with the mouth comparatively closed (for instance, the *i* of modern French *si* is close, that of English *sit* is open). A hook toward the right (,) signifies that the vowel is open; a hook toward the left (,) that it has an indefinite, smothered pronunciation, approximate to the *u* in English *but*. In this grammar we seldom mark the 'quality,' as the comparative closeness or openness of a vowel is called, of unstressed vowels, inasmuch as unstressed vowels, including the weaker vowels of diphthongs and triphthongs, are practically always of an intermediate quality. We do not mark the quality of *a*, *ō*, or *ū*, inasmuch as there is great uncertainty as to their quality in Old French (their approximate values are given in our alphabetical list of phonetic symbols).

Alphabetical List of Phonetic Symbols†

a = *a* in English *cat*.

ā = *a* in modern French *an* (35. Note 3 ; 178. Note).

b = English *b*.

d = English *d*.

ɖ = a sound resembling *th* in English *brother*, but less audible.

dz = English *ds* in *fads*.

dʒ = English *j*.

ɛ = modern French *é*.

† The values given are of course only approximate.

- $\tilde{e}$ = the sound e pronounced with a lowering of the soft palate ;
 that is, partly through the nose. Cf. 35. Note 3 ; 178. Note.
 ϵ = modern French ϵ .
 $\tilde{e}$ = ai in modern French *pain* (35. Note 3 ; 178. Note).
 ϵ = u in English *but*.
 f = English *f*.
 g = g in English *go*.
 g^1 : g in English *garb* (cf. 133).
 g^2 : g in English *geese* (cf. 133).
 h = English *h*.
 $\dot{i}$ = i in modern French *si*.
 $\tilde{i}$ = the sound $\dot{i}$ pronounced with a lowering of the soft palate
 (cf. $\tilde{e}$).
 $\dot{y}$ = y in English *you* (cf. the first paragraph of 103).
 k = c in English *cold*.
 k^1 : c in English *car* (cf. 133).
 k^2 : k in English *keen* (cf. 133).
 l = English *l*.
 l' = *ly* in English *will you*.
 m = English *m*.
 n = English *n*.
 $\hbar$ = *ny* in English *can you*.
 η = *ng* in English *sing*.
 ρ = modern French δ .
 $\tilde{\rho}$ = the sound ρ pronounced with a lowering of the soft palate
 (cf. $\tilde{e}$).
 ϱ = o in modern French *fol*.
 $\tilde{\varrho}$ = o in modern French *bon* (35. Note 3 ; 178. Note).
 $\ddot{o}$ = German $\ddot{o}$.
 p = English *p*.
 r = English *r* (cf. the remark immediately preceding 165).
 s = English *ss*.
 $\check{s}$ = English *sh*.
 δ = *ssy* in English *pass you*.

- t* = English *t*.
t̥ = a sound resembling *th* in English *thin* but less audible.
ts = English *ts* in *bats*.
tʃ = English *ch*.
ʊ = *ou* in modern French *tour*.
ʌ = *w* in English *we* (cf. the first paragraph of 108).
ü = modern French *u*.
ũ = the sound *ü* pronounced with a lowering of the soft palate (cf. §).
v = English *v*.
w = *w* in English *we*.
y = *y* in English *you*.
z = English *s*.
ʒ = French *j*.
ʔ = *sy* in English *as you*.

In pronouncing Old French diphthongs and triphthongs observe the following rules : (1) pronounce all the individual elements, but more rapidly than when they stand outside such a combination ; (2) pronounce with most force the vowel marked with an accent ; (3) give an intermediate quality to the other vowel or vowels of the combination (cf. page 17, line 18).

Written accents practically played no part in either Vulgar Latin or Old French. In this grammar they are used to mark stress. The stress of Classical Latin and Vulgar Latin words is marked whenever there is likelihood of its being misplaced by the student. Primary stress is denoted by an acute, secondary by a grave accent. It is not necessary to mark the stress of Old French words, for the primary stress may be placed by an inviolable rule—on the ultima unless the ultima vowel be *ç*, in that case on the penult—and the secondary stress (79. Note) is not of great importance. We therefore use acute accents over Old French words for a special purpose—to mark that one of the vowels of a diphthong or triphthong which has the greater force : for instance, Old French *vêiture* is stressed on the penult, but

the *e* of the diphthong of the antepenult is pronounced more forcibly than the *i*.

Glossary of Technical Terms

analogical : used of a linguistic development brought about by the influence of analogy (cf. the second paragraph of 10-11).

antepenult : the last syllable but two of a word.

aspirate : the sound represented by the letter *h* ; also, a sound in which an *h* sound is associated with a mute (q. v.).

assimilation : cf. the last part of 103. Note 1.

atonic : in this grammar used of syllables or vowels not possessing primary stress (q. v.).

checked : cf. 32-34.

close : cf. page 17, line 11.

dental : pronounced by placing the tip of the tongue against or near the front teeth (cf. the tables in 103 and 272).

derivative vowel : cf. 348.2.

dissimilation : a phonological process consisting in the making of similar sounds dissimilar (for instance, cf. 81. Note).

epenthetic *i* : an *i* sound inserted in a syllable from without. The *i* sound is often generated, so to speak, by a palatal consonant—for instance, cf. 158.1.

free : cf. 32-34.

hiatus : the strained pronunciation which arises when one vowel immediately follows another without being combined with it in a diphthong or triphthong.

initial-syllable pretonic vowel : cf. 79.

interconsonantal : immediately preceded by and immediately followed by a consonant or consonants.

intervocal : immediately preceded by and immediately followed by a vowel or diphthong or triphthong.

labial : formed by various positions of the lips in contact with each other or with other parts of the mouth (cf. the tables in 103 and 272).

labialized consonant : cf. 206.1.

liquids : the consonants *l* and *r*, so called from the ease with which they flow into or unite with other sounds (cf. the tables in 103 and 272).

medial : used of sounds which are neither initial nor final in a word.

mediopalatal : cf. 133.

metathesis : the transposition of sounds for ease of pronunciation.

monophthong : a single simple vowel sound, in contradistinction to a diphthong.

morphology : the science of the forms of language, in contradistinction to 'phonology,' the science of the sounds of language.

mute : a consonant formed by the stopping of the oral passage; opposed to 'spirant' (q. v.).

nasal consonant : a consonant uttered with a lowering of the soft palate : that is, partly through the nose. Cf. the tables in 103 and 272.

nasal vowel : a vowel uttered with a lowering of the soft palate : that is, partly through the nose. Cf. 35. Note 3, and 178. Note.

open : cf. page 17, line 13.

oral consonant : a consonant uttered entirely through the mouth : that is, without lowering of the soft palate, which would cause nasalization (cf. 'nasal consonant'). Cf. the tables in 103 and 272.

palatal : produced by, or with the help of, the palate (cf. the tables in 103 and 272).

palatalization : the process referred to under 'palatalized consonant.'

palatalized consonant : a consonant which has developed an additional *y* sound : for instance, *č*, *ň*.

paroxytone : a word having the primary stress (q. v.) on the penult (q. v.).

penult : the syllable next to the last in a word.

phonology : cf. 'morphology.'

postconsonantal : immediately following a consonant.

postpalatal : cf. 133.

post-secondary-stress vowel : cf. 79.

posttonic : in this grammar used of vowels or syllables following the tonic syllable (q. v.).

preconsonantal : immediately preceding a consonant.

pretonic : in this grammar used of vowels or syllables preceding the tonic syllable (q. v.).

primary group : cf. 103. Note 1.

primary stress : when a word has two stressed syllables, the more forcible stress is called the 'primary stress,' the less forcible is called 'secondary stress' (cf. 79, and 79. Note).

proparoxytone : a word having the primary stress (q. v.) on the antepenult (q. v.).

provenience : the source or origin of a linguistic phenomenon.

resonance chamber : a hollow space formed in the mouth in order to reinforce the sound of the vibrating vocal cords.

secondary group : cf. 103. Note 1.

secondary stress : cf. 'primary stress.'

semivowel : ξ and ψ are called semivowels because they have the character of both a vowel and a consonant (cf. 103 and 272).

sonant : accompanied by vocal vibration or tone (cf. the tables in 103 and 272).

spirant : a consonant of incomplete closure; opposed to 'mute' (q. v.). Cf. the tables in 103 and 272.

stress : cf. 'primary stress,' and 'secondary stress.'

strong verb : cf. 338.

surd : unaccompanied by vocal vibration or tone (cf. the tables in 103 and 272).

syncope : the elision of a vowel or syllable from the midst of a word (for instance, cf. 76).

tonic : in this grammar used of vowels or syllables bearing primary stress (q. v.).

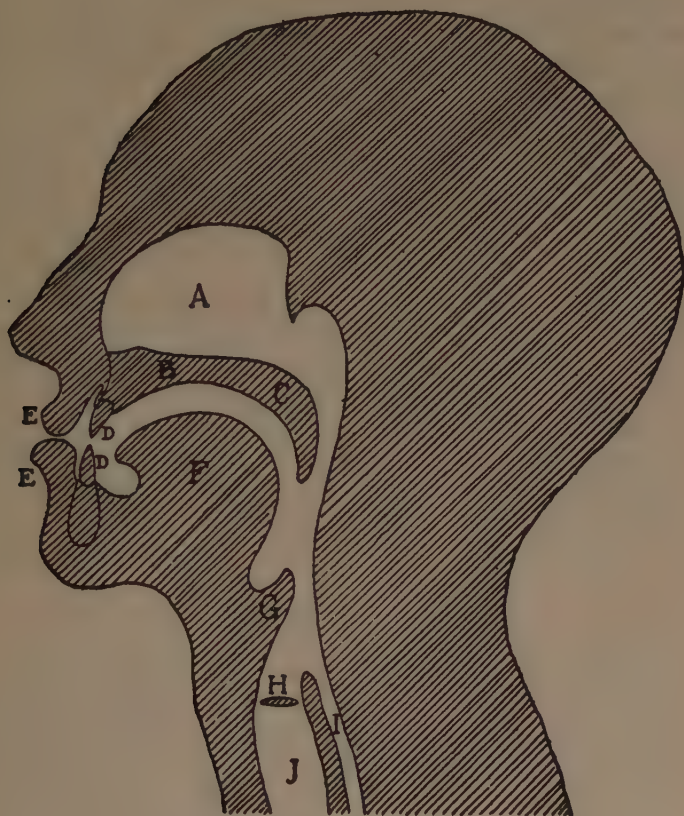
ultima : the last syllable of a word.

umlaut : the change of one vowel to another more like a following vowel (for instance, cf. 43).

velar palatal : cf. 133.

weak verb : cf. 338.

The following cross-section drawing of the organs of speech may be of value to students who have not studied phonetics :



A = nasal cavity.

E = lips.

B = hard palate.

F = tongue.

I = esophagus.

C = soft palate.

G = epiglottis.

J = trachea.

D = teeth.

H = vocal cords.

Abbreviations

CL. = Classical Latin. VL. = Vulgar Latin. OF. = Old French.

> = 'becomes.'

< = 'is the result of.'

An asterisk (*) stands before Vulgar Latin words which are supposed to have existed, but have not been actually found in any Vulgar Latin document.

CHAPTER II

THE MOST IMPORTANT DIFFERENCES BETWEEN (GALLIC) VULGAR LATIN AND CLASSICAL LATIN

15. An historical presentation of Old French finds its natural point of departure in the description of Vulgar Latin—more specifically, in the description of the last stage of Gallic Vulgar Latin. Since students of Old French historical grammar must be conversant with Classical Latin (a Classical Latin grammar and dictionary should be continually at hand), we may conveniently describe this Vulgar Latin by enumerating the differences between it and Classical Latin. Although earlier Vulgar Latin, that which had been perfected and crystallized into Classical Latin (1-4), differed hardly at all from Classical Latin—no more than informal from formal modern English—later Vulgar Latin, developing rapidly away from its former self, became, *ipso facto*, quite unlike the crystallization of that former self. In the sixth century we find the following differences between Gallic Vulgar Latin and Classical Latin.

Stress

VL. words generally stress the same syllable as the corresponding words in CL., but :

Words with a short penult, and an ultima beginning with a mute plus *r*, which in CL. stress the antepenult, stress the penult in VL. (CL. *intēgrum*—VL. *intēgrum*).

Where in CL. a stressed *i* of the antepenult stands in hiatus with a following *e* or *o*, in VL. we find a diphthong, with the stress shifted to the *e* or *o* (CL. *pariētem*—VL. *pariētem*).

Certain differences are due to the fact that analogy (10-11) has been at work in VL. For example, the CL. 1st plural present indica-

tive of the 3d conjugation stresses the antepenult ; but in VL., because of the analogy of the three other conjugations, this form has come to stress the penult (CL. *pērdimus*—VL. *perdīmus*, by analogy to such VL. forms as *amāmus*, *monēmus*, *audīmus*, which correspond to CL. *amāmus*, *monēmus*, *audīmus*).

Note. Such VL. forms as *convēnit* (instead of CL. *convēnit*), are the result of a process called recomposition. Whereas CL., and the pre-Christian VL. of which it was the crystallization, had come to feel *convenit* as a simple word, VL. of our era regained the consciousness that it was compounded of *con* and *venit*, and therefore stressed the stem of the verb.

Vowels

16-20. Pre-Christian VL., like CL., possessed *ī* and *ŭ*, but by the sixth century *ī* had changed to *ē* and *ŭ* to *ō* (CL. *bībere* and *sūpra*—VL. *bēbere* and *sōpra*). Moreover, whereas in pre-Christian VL., as in CL., each vowel possessed two quantities, being either of short or long duration, by the sixth century each vowel (except *a*) had developed in addition two qualities, all long vowels having become also close, and all short vowels having become also open. As a result of these changes, we find the following vowel-correspondences between CL. and the VL. of sixth century Gaul:

CL. <i>ī</i> — VL. long <i>ī̄</i>	CL. <i>ā</i> — VL. short <i>a</i>
<i>ī</i> — long <i>ē̄</i>	<i>ā</i> — short <i>ɔ</i>
<i>ē</i> — long <i>ē̄</i>	<i>ō</i> — long <i>ɔ̄</i>
<i>ē</i> — short <i>ɛ̄</i>	<i>ŭ</i> — long <i>ɔ̄</i>
<i>ā</i> — long <i>ā</i>	<i>ū</i> — long <i>ū</i>

It is probable that the above changes did not appreciably affect the VL. posttonic and post-secondary-stress vowels, which were in any case of so unresisting a nature that they usually disappeared during the development into OF. (cf. 76 ; 77 ; 78 ; 80).

Pre-Christian VL. had only three diphthongs : *ae*, *oe*, and *au*. By the sixth century *ae* has become short *ɛ̄*, and *oe* has become long *ē̄* (CL. *poena*—VL. *pēna*), *au* alone remaining intact. Meanwhile,

however, a few new diphthongs have developed, as, for example, in VL. *pariētem* (15).

To CL. proparoxytones with penult vowel between *l—p*, *l—d*, *l—t*, *l—m*, *r—d*, *r—m*, *s—t*, correspond VL. paroxytones, the vowel having been syncopated (CL. *cālidus*—VL. *caldus*).

To CL. words with unstressed *u* preceding a vowel and following a consonant group correspond VL. words without the *u* (CL. *mōrtūum*—VL. *mortum*).

CL. allows hiatus; VL. avoids it in various ways. For example, an unstressed *i* or *e* standing immediately before another vowel becomes the semivowel *j* (CL. *filīus*—VL. *filjūs*); an unstressed *u* in like position becomes *ɥ* (CL. *annūālem*—VL. *annɥalem*).

Consonants

21-28. The *h* of earlier VL. has become silent (CL. *homo*—VL. *omo*). But a new *h* has come in with words borrowed from the Germanic tongues (Germanic *haga* > VL. *haga*).

VL. final *m* after an unstressed vowel has become silent (CL. *animam*—VL. *anima*).

VL. *n* has become silent before *s* (CL. *trans*—VL. *tras*).

VL. intervocal *b* has become *v* (CL. *faba*—VL. *fava*).

VL. *g* before *e* or *i* has changed into the sound of *y* in English *ye* (CL. *gentem*—VL. *yente*). The VL. combinations *ge*, *gi*, *de*, *di*, when standing before vowels, have also become *y* (CL. *diurnum*—VL. *yornu*).

Words beginning with an *s* plus a consonant prefix an *ɛ* when the foregoing word ends in a consonant (CL. *spina*—VL. *ɛspina*).

Borrowed Words

29-30. The Vulgar Latin of Gaul borrowed many words from Greek and from the Germanic tongues. Most of the Greek and Germanic sounds existed likewise in Vulgar Latin; the rest were replaced by more or less closely related sounds. For example, the Germanic bilabial *w*, which had no equivalent in Vulgar Latin, was replaced by the combination *gw* (Germanic *wardon* > VL. *gwardare*).

CHAPTER III

THE FIRST OLD FRENCH PERIOD

31. Those sounds which—as we have shown in Chapter II—appertained to the sixth century Vulgar Latin of Gaul, continued steadily in their phonological development, and during the succeeding centuries became Old French sounds. This chapter will explain their development down to about 1100.

Note. To attempt to date, even approximately, the changes which took place between 600 and 1100 would lead too far afield. The student should try, however, to make some inferences. For example, comparison of 35 with 108, 117.1, 127, etc., will show that the diphthongization of tonic free vowels had run its course before double consonants became single: for, if VL. *ceppu* (108) had become OF. *cepu* before free tonic *e* diphthongized, the form of ca. 1100 would have been *cif* (39.1), not *cɛp* (41).

VOWELS

32-34. For the following discussion of the vowels it is necessary to understand the terms 'free' and 'checked.' A vowel is said to be free when it ends a syllable, checked when it does not. More definitely—a vowel is free when it ends a word (*me*); when it stands before another vowel (*me-a*); when it stands before a single consonant (*ma-nu*); when it stands before a mute + liquid (*ca-pra*, *do-plu*): a vowel is checked when it stands before any consonant group other than a mute + liquid (*por-ta*); when it stands before a consonant + *i* or *u* (*sap-iat*). A vowel which stands before a single final consonant (*cor*) is free when followed by a word beginning with a vowel, checked when followed by a word beginning with a consonant or by a pause (cf. the third paragraph of 10-11.)

Note. At the beginning of the first OF. period, then, all words ending in a single final consonant were developing in two ways. But the developments before a following word beginning with a consonant, or before a pause, soon gave way (from analogy—cf. the second paragraph of 10–11) to the developments before a following word beginning with a vowel. In the following sections, therefore, we consider the ultima vowels of such words as free.

Tonic Vowels

35. As we have seen in 16–20, the last stage of Gallic Vulgar Latin possessed the vowels *i*, *e*, *ɛ*, *a*, *ɔ*, *o*, *u*, and the diphthong *au* (other diphthongs occurring only rarely). During the first period tonic vowels tended to diphthongize. This diphthongization seems contrary to the tendency of the language toward contraction (1–4), but was in reality a result of that tendency, inasmuch as it was the last step of a compensatory process caused by the syncopation, during the first centuries of Old French, of almost all atonic vowels (76, and 80.2). The first step of this compensatory process was the lengthening of free tonic vowels. Moreover, those free vowels which were short in Vulgar Latin lengthened to the same length as those which were long, so that the only short vowels remaining were those which were checked. When all these free vowels had lengthened, they then broke, as it were, into diphthongs: VL. *fĕru* > very early OF. *fĕru* > later OF. *fiĕr*. The checked vowels, on the contrary (all of which, even those originally long, were now short as compared with the free vowels), did not diphthongize: VL. *fōrma* > very early OF. *forma* (with short *o*) > later OF. *fūrme*. Sections 36–75 are a detailed enumeration of the results of, and divergences from, the process which we have just described in general terms. In our discussion of the tonic vowels we shall adopt the following order (corresponding to the situation, proceeding from front to back, of their resonance chambers): *i*, *e*, *ɛ*, *a*, *ɔ*, *o*, *u*. We shall conclude with the discussion of the tonic diphthong *au*.

Note 1. The development of a vowel was often complicated by the incorporation into a syllable of some new element. Especially common were the

incorporation of so-called 'epenthetic *i*,' and that of *u*. Separate paragraphs (38, 44, 45, etc.) will deal with these two phenomena.

Note 2. It is evident from the above section that very many vowels of Vulgar Latin changed in quantity upon becoming Old French vowels, all free short vowels becoming long, all checked long vowels becoming short, at least in comparison with the new long vowels. This requantification reached completion soon after the beginning of the first Old French period. Thenceforth through most of the first period, vowels seldom changed as to quantity, whether or no they changed from free to checked, or vice versa. Toward the end of the period, however, the difference between long and short vowels became inappreciable (they were all rather short than long), except in the case of tonic *e*. Most scholars are of the opinion that the *e* which came from VL. tonic free *a* (52. 1) remained *ē* until after the end of the first period, and that meanwhile the *e* which came from VL. tonic checked *e* (39. 2, and 41) remained *ĕ* (cf. 210 and 211); in the following sections we shall differentiate *ē* from *ĕ*.

Note 3. All tonic vowels and diphthongs, and most initial-syllable pretonic vowels and diphthongs, followed by *n* or *m*, take on a nasal sound (178. Note) during Old French. It is certain that OF. tonic *a*, *e*, and *ε* were thus nasalized during the first period; there is great uncertainty as to the date of nasalization of the other vowels and diphthongs. In the following sections, however, we shall consider all vowels and diphthongs which were nasalized at all, to have been nasalized before ca. 1100.

Note 4. In general, Vulgar Latin tonic syllables not only remained tonic throughout the first and second Old French periods, but are still so at the present day.

ī

VL. *ī* corresponds to CL. *ī*.

36. Free and checked *ī* before oral consonants remain *ī*: *ripa* > *rīve*.

37. Free and checked *ī* before nasal consonants become *î*: *espīna* (CL. *spīnă*) > *espīne*. Cf. 35. Note 3, and 178. Note.

38. *ī* before an epenthetic *i* (35. Note 1) blends with the latter into a single *ī*: *mīca* > *mīe* (140.1). Before a nasal consonant *ī* + epenthetic *i* gives *î*: *escriñū* (CL. *scrīnīum*) > *escriñg* (203).

ē

VL. *ē* corresponds to CL. *ē*, *ȳ*, *oe*.

39. 1) Free *ē* before oral consonants becomes *ēi*: *veru* > *vēir*. After palatals (103) or palatalized consonants (13-14) the result is *iei* and then *ī* (133. Note 2): *cera* > *ciēire* > *cīre*. The diphthongi-

zation of penult vowels was accomplished before they became checked through the fall of ultima vowels—cf. 78. 3.

2) In proparoxytones whose accented vowel becomes checked through the fall of the vowel of the penult (during the Old French period all proparoxytones lose the vowel of the penult—cf. 76) *ę* before oral consonants becomes *ę̣* (35. Note 2): *dębita* > *dębta* > *dęte*.

40. 1) Free *ę* before nasal consonants becomes *ę̣i*: *plęnu* > *plę̣in*. But after palatals (103) or palatalized consonants (13–14) the result is *ĩ*: *racęmu* > *rais̃in*. Cf. 35. Note 3, 178. Note, and the last sentence in 39. 1.

2) In proparoxytones whose accented vowel becomes checked through the fall of the vowel of the penult, *ę* before nasal consonants becomes *ę̣*, and then *ā*: *sęm̃ita* > *sę̣nte* > *sānte* (the orthography, however, continues *sente*). Cf. 76.

41. Checked *ę* before oral consonants becomes *ę̣* (35. Note 2): *mę̣tere* (CL. *mę̣tę̣rę̣*) > *mę̣tre*.

42. Checked *ę* before nasal consonants becomes *ę̣*, and then, except before *ń*, develops further into *ā*, though the orthography remains *en*: *fę̣ndere* (CL. *fę̣ndę̣rę̣*) > *fę̣ndre* (at first pronounced *fę̣ndre*, then *fāndre*). But *dę̣gnat* (CL. *dę̣gnāt*) > *deignet* (pronounced *dę̣̃net*). Cf. 35. Note 3, and 178. Note.

43. *ę* before oral or nasal consonants is changed to *ĩ* or *ĩ̃* by the influence of an *ĩ* in the following syllable (this is an example of the process called 'umlaut'): **prę̣si* (CL. *prę̣hę̣ndi*) > *prĩs*.

44. *ę* combined with an epenthetic *i* (35. Note 1) results in the diphthong *ęi*: *fę̣rĩa* > *fę̣ire* (201). Before nasal consonants the result is *ę̣i*: *fę̣nctu* (CL. *fictum*) > *fę̣̃int* (163).

45. *ę* + *u* (35. Note 1) becomes *ū*: *dę̣byit* > *dūt* (206. Note).

ę̣

VL. *ę̣* corresponds to CL. *ę̣* and *ae*.

46. 1) Free *ę̣* before oral consonants becomes *ię̣*. *mę̣l* > *mię̣l*. Cf. the last sentence in 39.1.

Note. *ę̣t* > *et*, probably because of the unstressed nature of the word (cf. the third paragraph of 10–11). The same explanation may be given for the alternative forms with *ę̣* of 417.

2) VL. free *ɛ* often came, through the syncope of an unstressed penult vowel (76), to be checked in OF. In some of these cases it had had time, the syncope being late (76. Note 2), to diphthongize to *iĕ* before becoming checked (*tĕpidu* > *tiĕpidu* > *tiĕbdu* > *tiĕde*); in others it had not had time, the syncope being early, to diphthongize before becoming checked, and so, in accordance with 48, remained *ɛ* (*mĕrula* > *mĕrla* > *mĕrle*).

47. 1) Free *ɛ* before nasal consonants becomes *iĕ*: *rĕm* > *riĕn*. Cf. 35. Note 3, 178. Note, and the last sentence in 39.1.

2) In proparoxytones whose accented vowel became checked through the fall of the vowel of the penult, *ɛ* before nasal consonants sometimes became *ĕ* and then *ā* (49), sometimes became *iĕ* (cf. the double development explained in 46. 2): *tĕneru* > *tĕnru* > *tĕndre* > *tāndre* (the orthography, however, continuing *tendre*); *frĕmīta* > *friĕmīta* > *friĕnte*. Cf. 76.

48. Checked *ɛ* before oral consonants remains *ɛ*: **tĕsta* (CL. *tĕstā*) > *tĕste*.

Note 1. *ɛ* before *ʋ* becomes *iĕ*.

Note 2. *ĕst* > *ĕst* (417), probably because of the unstressed nature of the word (cf. the third paragraph of 10-11).

49. Checked *ɛ* before nasal consonants becomes *ĕ*, and then *ā*: *vĕntu* > *vĕnt* > *vānt* (the orthography continuing *vent*). Cf. 35. Note 3, and 178. Note.

50. *ɛ* + epenthetic *i* (35. Note 1) becomes *iĕi* and then *i*: *prĕtĭu* > *priĕis* > *priis* (193). Before nasal consonants the result is *ĩ*: *enĕnĕiu* (CL. *ingĕnĕiūm*—cf. 21-28) > *enging* (pronounced *āndžĩh*—cf. 203).

51. *ɛ* + *u* (35. Note 1) becomes *iĕu*: *cĕcu* (CL. *caecūm*) > *cĕ-u* (145 and 77) > *ciĕu*.

a

VL. *a* corresponds to CL. *ā* and *ă*.

52. 1) Free *a* before oral consonants becomes *ĕ* (35. Note 2): *sal* > *sĕl*. After palatals (103) or palatalized consonants (13-14), however, the result is *iĕ*: *caru* > *chiĕr*. But cf. 140.2. Cf. also the last sentence in 39.1.

2) In proparoxytones whose accented vowel becomes checked through the fall of the vowel of the penult, *a* before oral consonants remains *a* : *rápídu* > *rabdu* > *rade*. Cf. 76, 105, and 122. 2. *a*.

53. 1) Free *a* before nasal consonants becomes *ái* : *amas* > *áimes*. After palatals (103) or palatalized consonants (13-14) it becomes *ię* : *cane* > *chiến*. Cf. 35. Note 3, 178. Note, and the last sentence in 39. 1.

2) In proparoxytones whose accented vowel becomes checked through the fall of the vowel of the penult, *a* before nasal consonants becomes *ã* : *câmera* > *chãmbre*. Cf. 76.

54. Checked *a* before oral consonants remains *a* : *drappu* > *drap*.

55. Checked *a* before nasal consonants becomes *ã* : *tantu* > *tãnt*. Cf. 35. Note 3, and 178. Note.

56. *a* and epenthetic *i* (35. Note 1) combine in the diphthong *ái*, which then becomes the sound *éi*, though the orthography continues *ai* : *factu* > *fa-it* (158.1) > *fáit* > *féit* (generally written *fait*). Before nasal consonants the result is *ái* : *sancta* > *sáinte* (163). But free *a* after palatals (103) or palatalized consonants (13-14) combines with epenthetic *i* into *ię* : *yaket* (CL. *jăcět*) > *gię-ist* (52.1, and 135.3) > *gišt*.

57. *a* + *u* (35. Note 1) becomes *ou* : *fagu* > *fa-u* (145 and 77) > *fpu*.

2

VL. *q* corresponds to CL. *ǫ*.

58. 1) Free *q* before oral consonants becomes *uę* : *cqr* > *cuęr*. Cf. the last sentence in 39. 1.

2) In proparoxytones whose accented vowel became checked through the fall of the vowel of the penult, free *q* before oral consonants sometimes remained *q*, sometimes became *uę* (cf. the double development explained in 46. 2) : **garǫfulu* (CL. *căryǫphŭllŭm*) > *gerǫfle* : **mǫvita* > *muęvita* > *muęvte* > *muęte*. Cf. 76.

59. 1) Free *q* before nasal consonants becomes *uę* : *bǫnu* > *buęn*. Cf. 35. Note 3, 178. Note, and the last sentence in 39. 1.

2) In proparoxytones whose accented vowel becomes checked through the fall of the vowel of the penult, free *q* before nasal consonants becomes *ǫ* : *cǫmite* > *cǫmte* > *cǫnte*. Cf. 76.

60. Checked φ before oral consonants remains φ : **fɔssa* (CL. *fōssa*) > *fɔsse*.

Note. φ before l' becomes $u\acute{e}$.

61. Checked φ before nasal consonants becomes $\tilde{\varphi}$: *ponte* > *pōnt*. Cf. 35. Note 3, and 178. Note.

62. φ + epenthetic i (35. Note 1) becomes $úi$; *cɔriū* > *cúir* (201).

63. φ + u (35. Note 1) becomes $óu$ (usually written *eu*) : *fɔcu* > *fɔ-u* (145 and 77) > *fóu* [*feu*].

φ

VL. φ corresponds to CL. $\tilde{o}$ and $\tilde{u}$.

64. 1) Free φ before oral consonants becomes ϕu : *colore* > *culður*. Cf. the last sentence in 39. 1.

2) In proparoxytones whose accented vowel becomes checked through the fall of the vowel of the penult, free φ before oral consonants becomes μ (written sometimes o , sometimes u , and sometimes ou) : *dóbitat* (CL. *dūbitāt*) > *dɔbtat* > *dɔtet* (orthography *dotet*, *dutet*, or *doutet*). Cf. 76.

65. 1) Free φ before nasal consonants becomes $\tilde{\varphi}$: *dɔnat* > *dōnet*. Cf. 35. Note 3, and 178. Note. This change was accomplished before penult vowels became checked through the fall of ultima vowels—cf. 78. 3.

2) In proparoxytones whose accented vowel becomes checked through the fall of the vowel of the penult, free φ before nasal consonants becomes $\tilde{\varphi}$: *nómeru* (CL. *nūmērūm*) > *nōmbre*. Cf. 76.

66. Checked φ before oral consonants becomes μ (written o , u , or ou) : *gotta* (CL. *güttām*) > *gute* [*gote*, *gute*, or *goute*].

67. Checked φ before nasal consonants becomes $\tilde{\varphi}$: *ɔnda* (CL. *ündām*) > *ōnde*. Cf. 35. Note 3, and 178. Note.

68. φ + epenthetic i (35. Note 1) becomes ϕi : *dɔcta* (CL. *dūctām*) > *dóite* (158.1). Before nasals the result is ϕi : *pɔgnu* (CL. *pūgnūm*) > *poing* (pronounced *póin*—cf. 160).

69. φ + u (35. Note 1) becomes ϕu : *yɔgu* (CL. *jūgūm*) > *jɔ-u* > *jóu* (145 and 77).

u

VL. *u* corresponds to CL. *ū*.

70. Free and checked *u* before oral consonants become *ü* (the orthography of this sound was of course *u*, without the superposed dots): *muru* > *mür*.

71. Free and checked *u* before nasal consonants become *ũ*: *unu* > *ũn*. Cf. 35. Note 3, and 178. Note.

72. *u* + epenthetic *i* (35. Note 1) becomes *úi*: *fructu* > *frúit* (158. 1). Before nasals the result is *ũi*: *junxu* > *jũin* (203).

au

VL. *au* corresponds to CL. *au*.

73. Free and checked *au* before oral consonants become *ø*; before nasal consonants *ō*: *causa* > *chøse*; *haurita* (a borrowed word—the Germanic *haunipa*) > *hōnte*. Cf. 35. Note 3, and 178. Note.

74. *au* + epenthetic *i* (35. Note 1) becomes *ōi*: *nausia* (CL. *nausăă*) > *nōise* (196).

75. *au* + *u* (35. Note 1) becomes *ōu*: *paucu* > *pau-u* (145 and 77) > *pōu*.

Posttonic Vowels

In the Penult

76. All unstressed penult vowels dropped out during the first Old French period: *platanu* > *platnu* > *plane* (for fall of *t*, cf. 120).

Note 1. Similar syncope had taken place during the Vulgar Latin period (16–20).

Note 2. The Old French syncope of unstressed penult vowels took place before those of post-secondary-stress vowels (80. 2; 122. Note 2; 143. Note 2; 148. Note), but did not take place all at the same time. Some were early, some comparatively late. It seems impossible to deduce general laws as to their relative chronology. Sometimes, however, we may infer that the syncope of certain words took place before those of certain other words. For instance, if—as is

probable—every VL. free *ɛ* before oral consonants became OF. *ié* at about the same time, a comparison of the developments *tēpidu* > *tiède* and *mērula* > *mērlé* shows that the *u* of *merula* dropped out before the *i* of *tepidu* (46. 2).

In the Ultima

77. As we shall see in 78, most final vowels became silent, the time of their disappearance being about the eighth century. But when final *u* or *i* came into contact with a preceding stressed vowel before the eighth century, they usually combined with it into a diphthong. This early contact occurred (1) when VL. did away with an hiatus by forming a diphthong (cf. the last paragraph of 16–20): early VL. *fui* > later VL. *fui* > OF. *fui*; (2) when intervening sounds dropped out before the eighth century: early VL. *amavi* > later VL. *amai* > OF. *amái*; VL. *sapui* > seventh century OF. *sɛ-i* (206. Note) > later OF. *sói*; VL. *fɛcu* > seventh century OF. *fɛ-u* (145) > later OF. *fóu*. Cf. 45; 51; 57; 63; 69; 75; and 35. Note 1.

78. 1) Final *a* remains as *ɛ*: *terra* > *terrɛ*.

2) Other final vowels generally disappear about the eighth century: *muru* > *mur*. In the following three cases, however, they remain as *ɛ*: (a) after almost all primary consonant groups (103. Note 1) whose last element is a liquid or a nasal consonant: *helmu* > *helme*; (b) after almost all secondary consonant groups: *vivere* > *vivre* (76); (c) after a labial + *ɣ*: *roβɣu* (CL. *rūbēum*) > *rugɛ* (191).

3) The rules given under 1 and 2 apply also when the vowel of the ultima is followed by a single consonant: *abbas* > *abɛs*; *corpus* > *cors*; *tēpidus* > *tiedɛs*. But ultima vowels followed by a consonant group always remain as *ɛ*: *vendunt* > *vendɛnt*. And ultima vowels followed by *r* always remain as *ɛ*, but suffer metathesis: *pater* > *pedrɛ*.

Pretonic Vowels

79. We divide pretonic vowels into two classes: (1) 'Post-secondary-stress' vowels—for example, the *i* in *sànitàte*; be it noted that all VL. words with two or more syllables preceding the

tonic syllable have a secondary stress on the first syllable.

(2) 'Initial-syllable pretonic' vowels—for example, the first *a* in *sanāre* or in *sānitāte*.

Note. It is probable that a Vulgar Latin syllable which bore a secondary stress continued to bear a secondary stress throughout the first and second Old French periods; even when, through the fall of a post-secondary-stress vowel, it came to stand before a tonic syllable.

a) Post-Secondary-Stress Vowels

80. 1) Post-secondary-stress *a* becomes *ɛ*: *cāntatōre* > *chāntədour*. But when followed by an epenthetic *i* the result is *ái*, which then becomes *éi* (though the orthography remains *ai*—56): *ðratīōne* > *oráison* > *oréison* [*oraison*].

2) Other post-secondary-stress vowels usually become *ɛ* (or, if combined with epenthetic *i*, a diphthong ending in *i*) when they are followed by any consonant group (*àbellāna* > *avələine*), or by *l̥* or *n̥*; or preceded by the consonant groups labial + *r*, dental + *r*, labial + *l*, consonant + palatal + *l*, *lm*, *sm*, *ln*, *mn* (*quādrifōrcu* > *carrɛfur*). Otherwise they are usually syncopated (76. Note 2): **sōbitānu* (CL. *sūbitānēum*) > *sobdanu* > *sudain* (122. 2. c).

Note. But very many post-secondary-stress vowels underwent the influence of analogy (cf. the second paragraph of 10–11). For example, *māritāre* > *marīder* (instead of *marder*—cf. 122. 2. c) from analogy with *marīt* < *marītu*.

b) Initial-Syllable Pretonic Vowels

i

81. Free and checked *i* before oral consonants and free *i* before nasal consonants remain *i*: *prīvare* > *prīver*.

Note. In some words which come to have, in OF., *i* in the tonic syllable, initial-syllable pretonic *i*, by the process called 'dissimilation,' becomes *ɛ*: *finīre* > *fɛnir*.

82. Checked *i* before nasal consonants becomes *ɪ*: *prīmtempus* (CL. *prīmūm tēmpūs*) > *prīntens*.

83. *i* + epenthetic *i* (35. Note 1) results in *î* (in *ï* when before nasal consonants) : *dîctare* > *dîtier* (158. 1).

ɛ

VL. pretonic *ɛ* became *ɛ* at the very end of the VL. period ; so VL. pretonic *ɛ* corresponds to CL. *ī*, *ē*, and *ě*.

84. Free *ɛ* before oral consonants and nasal consonants becomes *ɛ* : *venire* (earlier VL. *venire*) > *venire*. Checked *ɛ* before oral consonants remains *ɛ* : *ver̄tute* (CL. *virtūtēm*) > *ver̄tut*.

85. Checked *ɛ* before nasal consonants becomes *ē*, and then, except before *h*, develops further into *ā* : *entrare* > *ēntre*r > *āntre*r (but the orthography usually continues *entre*r) ; *sen̄iore* > *sēñour* [*seignour*].

86. *ɛ* + epenthetic *i* (35. Note 1) results in *êi* (in *ēi* before nasal consonants) : *eksire* (CL. *ěxirě*) > *êissir* (158. 1).

u

87. Free *a* before oral and nasal consonants remains *a* : *avaru* > *aver*. After palatals (103) it becomes *ɛ* : *caballu* > *chēval*. It also becomes *ɛ* when, because of the fall of a consonant, it comes to stand before *ū* : *sabucu* > *sēū* (106).

88. Checked *a* before oral consonants remains *a* : *castellu* > *chastel*.

89. Checked *a* before nasal consonants becomes *ā* : *cantare* > *chānter*.

90. *a* + epenthetic *i* (35. Note 1) results in *ái*, which then becomes *êi* (though the orthography remains *ai*—cf. 56) : *tractare* > *tráitier* > *trêitier* (158. 1) Before nasal consonants the result is *ái* : *planksisti* (CL. *plān̄xistī*) > *pláinsis* (163).

ɔ

91. Free *ɔ* before oral consonants becomes *ɔ*, written indifferently *u*, *o*, and *ou* : *pr̄quare* (CL. *pr̄b̄b̄arě*) > *pr̄uver* (in the manuscripts we find indiscriminately all three forms *pruver*, *prover*, *prouver*).

92. Checked *o* before oral consonants remains *o* : *pōrtare* > *pōrter*.

93. Free and checked *o* before nasal consonants become *ō* : *sqnare* > *sōner*.

94. *o* + epenthetic *i* (35. Note 1) becomes *ōi* before oral consonants, *ōi* before nasal consonants : *oetobre* > *ōitouvre* (158. 1).

o

95. Free and checked *o* before oral consonants become *u*, written either *u*, *o*, or *ou* : *plōrare* > *plyrer*.

96. Free and checked *o* before nasal consonants become *ō* : *dōnare* > *dōner*.

97. *o* + epenthetic *i* (35. Note 1) results in *ōi* before oral consonants, *ōi* before nasal consonants : *poṭione* > *pōison* (193).

u

98. Free and checked *u* before oral consonants and free *u* before nasal consonants become *ū* (written *u*—cf. 70) : *usare* > *ūser*.

99. Checked *u* before nasal consonants becomes *ũ* : *lyndīe* (CL. *lūnae dīēm*) > *lūndi*.

100. *u* + epenthetic *i* (35. Note 1) results in *ūi* : *lycente* > *lūisant* (135. 1).

III

101. Free and checked *au* before oral consonants become *o*, before nasal consonants *ō* : *pausare* > *pōser*; *haunire* (a borrowed word—Germanic *haunjan*) > *hōnir*.

102. *au* + epenthetic *i* (35. Note 1) results in *ōi* : *nausjare* (CL. *nausčārē*) > *nōisir* (196).

CONSONANTS

103. From Vulgar Latin Old French received the following consonants:

	Oral Consonants				Nasal Consonants
	Mutes		Spirants		(All liquids and nasal consonants may be considered sonant.)
	Surds	Sonants	Surds	Sonants	
Labials	<i>p</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>v, w</i>	<i>m</i>
Dentals	<i>t</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>s</i>		<i>n</i>
Palatals	<i>k</i> (133) <i>g</i> (133)		<i>y</i> (cf. remark before 150)		<i>ŋ</i> (178)

Furthermore: the aspirate, *h* (21-28); and the semivowels, *ɨ* and *ʉ* (cf. the last paragraph of 16-20). The difference of pronunciation between *ɨ* and *y*, or between *ʉ* and *w* (13-14), is almost inappreciable: in *ɨ* and *ʉ* the vowel element is slightly more prominent than in *y* and *w*.—It should be borne in mind that the letters of the above table are phonetic symbols (13-14), and that several of them were rarely used either in CL. or VL. orthography: *k*, for example, represents the sound of *k* in English, which sound was usually written *c* in CL. and VL. (the combination sound *ks* was written *x* in CL. and VL.).

During the first Old French period these consonants made many changes, which were, of course, in accordance with the extreme tendency of the language toward contraction (1-4). Two main processes of development may be noted: (1) consonants which are initial in a word (like the first *c* in *calcare*), or initial in a syllable following a syllable ending in a consonant (like the second *c* in *calcare*), rendered solid and steadfast by their prominent position in the word, tend to remain intact; (2) consonants which are intervocal (like the *c* in *pacare*), or final in a syllable followed by a syllable beginning with a consonant (like the *c* in *tractare*), tend to disinte-

grate, as it were, or even to disappear entirely. Sections 104–206 are a detailed enumeration of the results of, and the divergences from, these two processes. In our discussion of the consonants we shall adopt the following order: labials, exclusive of *w* (cf. 154, ff.), and *m* (cf. 178, ff.); dentals, exclusive of *l* and *r* (cf. 165, ff.), and *n* (cf. 178, ff.); palatals, exclusive of *ɲ* (cf. 178, ff.); liquids; *h*; nasal consonants; palatalized consonants; labialized consonants.

Note 1. We shall often have occasion to speak of ‘consonant groups.’ These are of two kinds: a ‘primary’ group is one already existent in Vulgar Latin (the *ld* of *caldarius*); a ‘secondary’ group is one formed by an Old French syncope (the *l’d* of *solder* < *solidare*). Whenever we use the term ‘consonant group’ without further specification, let it be understood as inclusive of both kinds; and whenever we use the terms preconsonantal and postconsonantal, let them be understood, in the absence of a statement to the contrary, as referring to consonants in secondary, as well as in primary, groups.—The component elements of consonant groups sometimes remain unchanged, as in *porta* > *porte* (168), but usually one element is affected by another, a process called ‘assimilation.’ Sometimes assimilation is complete, as in *septe* > *set* (111), sometimes partial, as in *semila* > *semla* (76) > *sente* (here a labial becomes a dental from assimilation to a following dental—cf. 185). In studying cases of assimilation it is of practical value to remember that the first of two consonants is usually assimilated to the second (cf. what has been said just above of the *c* in *tractare*). It is also well to bear in mind that, if a secondary group consisting of a surd and a sonant undergoes an assimilatory process, the resultant combination is usually surd if either one of the elements, at the moment of combination, is surd; otherwise the resultant combination is usually sonant (cf., for instance, 122. 2. a, 141. Note, 143. 2).

Note 2. Sonant consonants which in the course of their development come to be final in Old French, become surd (*nudu* > *nud* > *nuf*—cf. 116). It must be noted, however, that a consonant which is final in the literal sense of the word ‘final’ is often practically medial. Whenever *nud*, for example, was immediately followed in connected and rapid speech by a word beginning with a vowel, the *ɖ* was practically an intervocal consonant. In such circumstances, naturally, *nud* did not become *nuf*. Throughout the first and second Old French periods, therefore, words ending in a consonant possessed two pronunciations, choice between them being dependent upon position in the sentence. For convenience, however, we shall ignore this double development; we shall assume that all those final consonants which we shall discuss stand before a pause. Cf. the third paragraph of 10–11, and 277.

Labials

p b f v

104. Initial labials remain intact : *vannu* > *van*.

105. Intervocal *p* becomes *b* and then *v* : *ripa* > *ribe* > *rive*. But if this *v* comes to be final in OF., it becomes *f* (103. Note 2) : **capu* (CL. *căpūt*) > *chiev* > *chief*.

106. VL. intervocal *b* had become *v* before the beginning of OF. (21–28), and thereafter developed like VL. intervocal *v* ; which remained intact (*avaru* > *aver*), unless it came to be final in OF., in which case it became *f* (*vivu* > *vif*—cf. 103. Note 2). But *v* disappeared before stressed *o* and *u* : *pavóre* > *paour*.

107. Intervocal *f* disappears : **refusare* > *reuser*.

108. Double labials are simplified : *ceppu* (CL. *căppūm*) > *cēp* (41).

109. In the consonant-groups *pr*, *br* (103. Note 1) the labials become *v* : *fabru* > *ferre*. In the group *vr* the *v* remains intact : *vivere* > *vivre*.

110. *pl* (103. Note 1) becomes *bl* : *pōpulu* > *pueble*. *bl* and *fl* remain intact : **garófulu* (58. 2) > *gerofle*.

111. Before other consonants than *r* and *l*, labials disappear completely : *septe* > *set* ; *vivit* > *vivt* > *vit*. Cf. 103. Note 1.

112. Postconsonantal labials remain intact : *barba* > *barbe*. Cf. 103. Note 1.

113. If a postconsonantal labial comes to be final in OF. : VL. *p* remains intact (*campu* > *champ*) ; *b* becomes *p* (*orbu* > *orp*) ; *v* becomes *f* (*cervu* > *cerf*) ; *f* falls (*gomfu*—CL. *gōmphiūm*—> *gon*).. Cf. 103. Note 2.

114. Interconsonantal *p*, *b*, *f* remain intact before *r* and *l* (*árборе* > *arbre*), but disappear before other consonants (*corpus* > *corps* > *cors*). Interconsonantal *v* disappears (*servus* > *servs* > *sers*) ; but in the groups *nv'l* and *lv'r* it is replaced by a transitional sound—*nv'l* becoming *mv'l* (184) and then *mb'l*, *lv'r* becoming *ldr* (*pólvere* > *polvre* > *polre* > *poldre*).

Dentals

t d

115. Initial dental mutes remain intact; *duru* > *dur*.

116. Intervocal *t* became *d*; this *d* and VL. intervocal *d* thereafter developed alike; they weakened to the sound of *th* in English *brother*, which then became less and less audible, until, at about the end of the first period, it was almost silent: *espata* (CL. *spāthā*) > *espede* > *espede* (13-14). But when *d* came to be final in OF., it changed to the sound of *th* in English *thin* (103. Note 2), which then became less and less audible, and by 1100 was almost silent: *nudu* > *nud* > *nut* [*nut*].

117. 1) Double dentals (103. Note 1) are simplified: *cattu* > *chat*.

2) The groups *t'd*, *d't*, become *t*: *nētida* > *netda* > *nete*.

3) In the secondary groups dental + *ts*, dental + *dz*, dental + *tš*, and dental + *dž*, the first dental is completely assimilated to the second: *judicare* > *juddžier* (143. 2) > *judžier*.

118. Intervocal *tr* (103. Note 1) becomes *dr*, and thereafter develops like VL. intervocal *dr* and *d'r*. The *dr* of these various proveniences becomes *ḍr*: *patre* > *peḍre*.

119. Intervocal *tl* (103. Note 1) becomes *dl*, and thereafter develops like VL. intervocal *dl* and *d'l*. The *dl* of these various proveniences becomes *ḍl*: *Rodlandu* (a Germanic name, *Hroþland*) > *Rodlant*.

120. Before *n* and *m* the dental mutes disappear: *plātanu* > *platnu* > *plane*. Cf. 103. Note 1.

121. If *d*, whether it be VL. *d* or OF. *d* from VL. *t* (116), comes through the syncope of a vowel to stand before *s*, it becomes *t* (the orthography of the sound *ts* is usually *z*): *amatis* > *amedis* > *ameds* > *amets* [*amez*]. Cf. 103. Note 1.

122. Postconsonantal dental mutes developed as follows:

1) In primary groups which did not come to be final in OF.,

t and *d* remained intact: *fontana* > *fontaine*; *ardère* > *ardeir*. Cf. 103. Note 1.

2) In secondary groups which did not come to be final in OF.; (a) *d* remained *d* when it came to follow a sonant consonant in OF., but became *t* when it came to follow a surd consonant in OF. (cf. the last sentence of 103. Note 1); this latter process took place only when the surd had not had time, the syncope being early (76. Note 2), to 'disintegrate' (103) from a surd to a sonant before coming into contact with the *d*: *sápidu* > *sabidu* (105) > *sabdu* > *sade* (111); *nétida* > *netda* > *nete* (117. 2). (b) *t* which was initial in the ultima of a proparoxytone came into contact with the preceding consonant (76) before the change of intervocal *t* to *d* (116), and so, as might be surmised from 122. 1, remained *t*: *ámita* > *ante* (185). (c) *t* which was initial in the tonic syllable of a paroxytone came into contact with the preceding consonant (80. 2) after becoming *d* (116); this *d*, as might be surmised from 122. 1, remained *d*: **sòbitánu* (CL. *sùbītānēūm*) > *sobdanu* > *sudain* (111). (No OF. word contained the secondary group surd + *d* in the position under discussion. In such a group *d* would undoubtedly have become *t*—cf. the last sentence of 103. Note 1.)

3) When postconsonantal dental mutes came to be final in OF., *t* remained *t* and *d* became *t* (103. Note 2): *tardu* > *tart*; *déyitu* (CL. *dīgītūm*) > *deyt* > *deit* (158. 1).

Note 1. Many secondary groups consisting of consonant + dental underwent the influence of analogy (cf. the second paragraph of 10–11). For instance, *dobitäre* > *duter* (instead of *duder*) from analogy with *dutet* < *dòbitat*.

Note 2. Comparison of such developments as *amita* > *ante* and **sobitanu* > *sudain* shows that as a rule unstressed penult vowels fell out before post-secondary-stress vowels did. Cf. 143. Note 2, and 148. Note.

123. Interconsonantal *t* remains intact before *r* and *s*; interconsonantal *d* remains intact before *r*, but becomes *t* before *s*; otherwise interconsonantal dental mutes disappear: *pérdere* > *perdre*; *tendit* > *tendt* > *tent*. Cf. 103. Note 1.

124. Final dental mutes, if they follow a vowel, gradually become

less and less audible, both *t* and *d* becoming *t̥*: *ad* > *aḍ* > *aṭ* (written indiscriminately *a*, *aḍ*, *aṭ*). But if they follow a consonant (103. Note 1) the result is *t̥*: *valet* > *valt* (> *vaut* before the end of the first OF. period—cf. 174). Cf. 103. Note 2.

Note. Some verb-endings have *t̥* when we should expect *t*; some have *t* when we should expect *t̥*: for example, *aṭ* < *abet* (CL. *hăbēt*). The cause of an irregularity of this nature is usually some analogical or syntactical influence (cf. 10–11).



125. Initial *s* remains intact: *sanu* > *sain*.

126. Intervocal *s* becomes *z* [*s*]: *pausare* > *pozer* [*poser*]. If this *z* comes to be final in OF., it becomes *s* again (103. Note 2): *nasu* > *nez* > *nes*.

127. Double *s* is simplified (written *ss* when intervocal, *s* otherwise): **fossa* (60) > *fose* [*fosse*]; *passu* > *pas*.

128. Before surd mutes *s* remains intact: *festa* > *feste*. In the group *sts*, however, it disappears: *ostes* (CL. *hōstēs*) > *osts* > *ots* [*oz*—cf. 121]. Cf. 103. Note 1.

129. Before other consonants than surd mutes (but cf. 130) *s* first becomes *z* and then disappears (but remains orthographically): *asinu* > *asnu* > *aznu* > *ane* [*asne*]. Cf. 103. Note 1.

130. The group *ss'r* becomes *str*: *essere* (CL. *ěssě*) > *esre* (127) > *estre*; *s'r* becomes *zdr* and then *dr*: **cósere* (CL. *cōnsűěřě*) > *cuzre* (129) > *cuzdre* > *cudre*.

131. Postconsonantal *s* remains *s* (written *ss* when intervocal, otherwise *s*): *orsu* (CL. *ŕrsŭm*) > *urs*.

132. Final *s* remains intact (103. Note 2): *plus* > *plus*. When it comes to follow a *t* in OF., the combination is usually written *z*: *amantes* > *amants* [*amanz*].

The Palatals before Vowels

133. The VL. palatal mutes before vowels had three different shades of pronunciation—and therefore developed in three different manners—according to the place of contact between the tongue and palate. When they were followed by *o* or *u* the contact of the tongue

was with the soft palate (velar palatals—represented in this grammar by *k*, *g*); when followed by *a* or *au* the contact was with the back of the hard palate (postpalatals—represented by *k*¹, *g*¹); when followed by *e* or *i* the contact was with the middle of the hard palate (mediopalatals—represented by *k*², *g*²). It should be borne in mind that *k*, *k*¹, and *k*² were all written *c* in VL., and corresponded to *c* in CL.

Note 1. VL. *g*² became *y* even before the end of the VL. period (21–28). For its development during OF., cf. 150 ff.

Note 2. Palatals, when they stood before tonic free *a*, tonic free *e*, or initial syllable pretonic free *a*, generated an *j*, which then combined with the *a* or *e* in various ways (cf. the remark immediately before 191). Since we have already described the results of these combinations (39. 1; 40. 1; 52. 1; 53. 1; 56; 87), we shall exclude all mention of them from the following sections.

*k*² (For *g*², cf. 133. Note 1.)

134. Initial *k*² becomes *ts* [*c*]: *cervu* > *tserf* [*cerf*].

135. Intervocal *k*² becomes *dž* (the sound of *ds-y* in the English words *bids you*). This *dž* soon loses its palatalization (13–14), but generates an epenthetic *i* after the preceding vowel. Then:

1) When it remains intervocal in OF., it becomes *z* [*s*]: *lycent* > *lūdžent* > *lū-idžent* > *lūidžent* (72) > *lūizent* [*luisent*].

2) When it comes to be final in OF., it becomes *ts* (103. Note 2): *vōce* > *vōdže* > *vō-idž* > *vōidž* (68) > *vōits* [*voiz* — cf. 121].

3) When it comes to stand before *t* in OF., it becomes *s*: *dq̄cet* > *du̇q̄ct* > *du̇q̄džt* > *du̇q̄-idžt* > *dūidžt* (62) > *dūist*. Cf. 103. Note 1.

136. *sk*² (103. Note 1) becomes *š*; then, losing its palatalization, but generating an epenthetic *i* after the preceding vowel, becomes *s* (when intervocal written *ss*, otherwise *s*): *vascellu* > *vašel* > *va-isel* > *váisel* [*vaissel*] (90).

137. After other consonants than *s*, *k*² becomes *ts* (written *z* when final, otherwise *c*): *rómice* (CL. *rūmīcēm*) > *rontse* [*ronce*]: *dolce* (CL. *dūlcēm*) > *dyts* [*dolz*]. The group *kk*² becomes *ts*: *baccinu* > *batsin* [*bacin*]. Cf. 103. Note 1.

$k^1 g^1$

138. Initial g^1 becomes $d\check{z}$ (written j before a, o, u ; g' before e, i): *gamba* > *džambe* [*jambe*].

139. Initial k^1 becomes $t\check{s}$ [*ch*]: *caru* > *tšier* [*chier*] (133. Note 2).

140. Intervocal k^1 became g^1 , and thereafter developed like VL. g^1 , which:

1) After a, e, i , became y , generating at the same time an epenthetic i after the preceding vowel: *plaga* > *pla-ye* > *pláye* (56). The orthography was *plai*—the i , exactly like an intervocal y in modern French, did double duty, representing both the epenthetic i and the y . If the preceding vowel was i , both the epenthetic i and the y were completely assimilated to it: *amīca* > *amīga* > *amī-ye* > *amī-ye* (38) > *amīe*. If the preceding vowel was tonic e , it and the epenthetic i and the y blended into one i : *necat* > *nī-yet* (50) > *niet*.

2) After u and o , disappeared completely, not even influencing a following a or e (cf. 133. Note 2): *locare* > *luēr* (52. 1).

141. Postconsonantal g^1 becomes $d\check{z}$ (written j before a, o, u ; g' before e, i): *navigare* > *navgare* > *nadžier* [*nagier*] (111). Cf. 133. Note 2.

Note. No VL word contained the group surd + g^1 . In such a group g^1 would undoubtedly have become $t\check{s}$ (cf. the last sentence of 103. Note 1).

142. 1) Postconsonantal k^1 in primary consonant groups becomes $t\check{s}$ [*ch*]: *marcare* > *martšier* [*marchier*] (133. Note 2).

2) kk^1 becomes $t\check{s}$: *peccatu* > *petšiet* (133. Note 2).

143. In secondary consonant groups, postconsonantal k^1 developed in a twofold manner:

1) k^1 which was initial in the ultima of a proparoxytone came into contact with the preceding consonant (76) before the change of intervocal k^1 to g^1 (140), and so, as might be surmised from 142. 1, became $t\check{s}$: *mánica* > *manca* > *mantše* [*manche*].

2) k^1 which was initial in the tonic syllable of a paroxytone came into contact with the preceding consonant (80. 2) after becoming g^1 (140); this g^1 , in accordance with 141 and 141. Note, became

either *dž* or *tš*, according as it came into contact with a sonant or a surd (cf. the last sentence of 103. Note 1): *dëlicátu* > *deligatu* > *deldžiet* [*delgiet*] (133. Note 2); **clöppicäre* > *clöppigare* > *clotžier* [*clochier*] (111).

Note 1. Many secondary groups consisting of consonant + *k* or *g* underwent the influence of analogy. For instance, *caballicäre* > *chevalžier* (instead of *chevaldžier*) from analogy with *chevalžet* < *cabállicat*.

Note 2. The comparison of such processes as *manica* > *manche* and *delicatu* > *delgiet* confirms the inference of 122. Note 2.

k g

144. Initial *g* and *k* remain intact: *gotta* (CL. *güttä*) > *gute*; *cura* > *cure*.

145. Intervocal *k* became *g*, and then, together with VL. intervocal *g*, became silent: *paucu* > *pëu* (77 and 75); *fagu* > *fëu* (77 and 57). This process was completed very early in the first OF. period.

Note. In certain words *g* and *k*, in becoming silent, generate an epenthetic *i*: **veracu* (CL. *věřacēm*) > *verái* (56). In some of these words the *i* seems to be due to analogical influence, in some to syntactical, in some to dialectal; in still others (as in *verai*) it has not yet been satisfactorily explained.

146. The primary consonant group *sk* becomes *s*, at the same time generating an epenthetic *i* after the preceding vowel: *nasco* > *na-is* > *náis* (56). Cf. 103. Note 1.

147. 1) In all primary consonant groups except *sk*, postconsonantal *k* and *g* remain intact: *arcu* > *arc*. But when postconsonantal *g* comes to be final in OF., it becomes *k* (103. Note 2): *largu* > *lark* > *larc*.

2) Double *k* is simplified: *saccu* > *sac*.

148. 1) *k* which was initial in the tonic syllable of a paroxytone came into contact with the preceding consonant (80. 2) after becoming *g* (145); this *g*, as might be surmised from 147. 1, remained *g*: *vërecündia* > *veregündia* > *vergogne*. (No VL. word contained the secondary group surd + *k* in the position under discussion. In such

a group *k* would undoubtedly have remained intact—cf. the last sentence of 103. Note 1.)

2) Some VL. proparoxytones ended in *-iku* (CL. *-ičūm*). This *k*, before it came into contact with the preceding consonant (76), had 'disintegrated'—cf. 103—not only into *g* (145), but even from *g* into *y*; this *y* became *tš* if it came into contact with an OF. surd, *dž* if with an OF. sonant (cf. the last sentence of 103. Note 1): *pórticu* > *portiŋu* > *porttše* > *portše* [*porche*] (for the disappearance of the first *t*, cf. 117. 3); *médicu* > *miediŋu* > *mieddže* > *miedže* [*miege*] (117. 3).

Note. We have seen (122. Note 2, and 143. Note 2) that unstressed penult vowels usually dropped out earlier than post-secondary-stress vowels. But comparison of such processes as *verecundia* > *vergogne* and *medicu* > *miege* leads us to infer that the *i* of the proparoxytonic ending *-icu* dropped out very late, even later than the post-secondary-stress vowels did.

Final *k*

149. Those few VL. words which end in *k* show no uniformity of development. For instance: *poroc* (CL. *prō hōc*) > *poruec*; *illác* > *la*; *fac* > *fa-i* > *fái* (56). Cf. 103. Note 2

y

VL. *y* corresponds to CL. *j* in all positions, *g* before *e*, *g* before *i* (cf. 133. Note 1), *gi* before a vowel, *ge* before a vowel, *di* before a vowel, *de* before a vowel; having come, of course, from earlier VL. *j*, etc.

150. Initial *y* becomes *dž* (written *i* before *a*, *o*, *u*; *g* before *e*, *i*): *yornu* (CL. *diŋrñūm*) > *jurn*.

151. Posttonic intervocal *y* remains *y*, at the same time generating an epenthetic *i* after the preceding vowel: *neyent* (CL. *nēgěnt*) > *nē-iyent* > *niyent* (50) (written *nient*, the *i* doing double duty—cf. 140. 1). But when the preceding vowel is *i*, *iy* is completely

assimilated to it: *riyant* (CL. *rīdēānt*) > *ri-iyent* > *ri-yent* (38) > *rient*. And when the *y* comes to be final in OF., it disappears (103. Note 2): *mayu* (CL. *mājūm*) > *ma-iy* > *mái* (56).

152. Pretonic intervocal *y* is assimilated to a following tonic *i* or *u*: *reyfna* (CL. *rēgīnā*) > *reīne*; *yeyūnu* (CL. *jējūnūm*) > *jēūn*. Before other tonic vowels it remains *y*, at the same time generating an epenthetic *i* after the preceding vowel: *mayóre* (CL. *mājōrēm*) > *ma-iyour* > *máiyour* (written *maïour*, the *i* doing double duty—cf. 140. 1); *payése* (CL. *pāgēnsēm*—for disappearance of *n*, cf. 21–28) > *pa-iyēs* > *páiyis* (written *païs*, the *i* here doing triple duty) (133. Note 2, and 39. 1).

153. 1) *y* after *r* becomes *dž* (written *j* before *a*, *o*, *u*; *g* before *e*, *i*): *aryentu* (CL. *ārgēntūm*) > *ardžent* [*argent*]. But when the *dž* comes to stand before a consonant in OF., it disappears: *teryit* (CL. *tērgīt*) > *terdžt* > *tert*. Cf. 103. Note 1.

2) *ly*, *ny* (178) become *l̥*, *ñ*, which thereafter develop like *l̥* and *ñ* of other provenience, as explained in detail in 159 and 160. Cf. also 200 and 203.

kw gw

VL. *kw* corresponds to CL. *qu* before a vowel; VL. *gw* corresponds to CL. *gu* before a vowel, and to Germanic *w*; having come, of course from earlier VL. *qu* + vowel, etc.

154. Initial *gw* and *kw* become *g* and *k* (usually written *gu* and *qu*): *gwardare* (borrowed from the Germanic *wardon*) > *garder* [*guarder*]; *kwando* (CL. *quāndō*) > *kant* [*quant*].

155. The few words which contain intervocal *gw* and *kw* show inexplicable differences of development. The most common process is perhaps this: *gw* and *kw* both become *v*, at the same time generating an epenthetic *i* after the preceding vowel: *akwa* (CL. *āquā*) > *a-ive* > *áive* (56).

156. Postconsonantal *gw* and *kw* become *g* and *k* [*gu* and *qu*]: *ongwentu* (CL. *ūnguēntūm*) > *ongent* [*onguent*]. But when *g* from

gw comes to be final in OF., it becomes *k* (103. Note 2): *sangwe* (CL. *sānguēm*) > *sang* > *sank* [*sanc*].

The Palatals before Consonants

157. Initial palatals before consonants remain unchanged: *granu* > *grain*.

158. 1) When the group palatal + consonant (103. Note 1) follows a vowel, the palatal becomes *y*, which then palatalizes (13-14) the consonant. This palatalization then disappears, but not before generating an epenthetic *i* after the preceding vowel: *negru* (CL. *nīgrūm*) > *nē-yr* > *nē-ɾ* > *nē-ir* > *nēir* (44); *tractare* > *tra-ytare* > *tra-t'are* > *tra-itier* (133. Note 2) > *trāitier* (56).

2) In the groups *ctj* and *cs* + consonant (103. Note 1), the *c* disappears without generating an epenthetic *i*: **tractjāt* > *tratset* [*tracet*] (195); *extēdere* (*ex* = *ecs*) > *estendre*.

159. Palatal + *l* (103. Note 1) becomes *ʎ*. This *ʎ*, if it is intervocal or final in OF., remains *ʎ* (written *ill* when intervocal; *il* when final): *vēylāre* (CL. *vīglārē*) > *veylare* > *veʎare* > *veʎier* [*veillier*] (133. Note 2). If it comes to stand before a consonant in OF., it loses its palatalization (before *s*, however, generating a transitional *t*): *vēclus* (CL. *vētūlus*) > *viēʎs* > *viēʎts* [*vielz*].

160. Palatal + *n* (103. Note 1) becomes *ñ*. This *ñ*, if it comes to be final in OF., remains *ñ*, at the same time generating an epenthetic *i* after the preceding vowel (this *iñ* is usually written *ing*): *pognu* (CL. *pūgnūm*) > *pō-iñ* > *pōiñ* [*poing*] (68). If it comes to stand before a consonant in OF., it loses its palatalization, but generates an epenthetic *i* after the preceding vowel: *dēgnēt* (CL. *dīgnēt*) > *dē-int* > *dēint* (44). If the consonant be *s*, a transitional *t* is inserted: *pognus* > *pōins* (68) > *pōints* [*poinz*]. If it is intervocal in OF., it remains *ñ* [*ign*] but does not generate an epenthetic *i*: *dēgnat* > *dēñet* [*deignet*] (42).

161. In the following groups (103. Note 1) the palatal remains intact): *ngl* (pronounced *ŋgl*—cf. 178, and also 187), *ncl*, *rcl*. For example: *āngulu* > *anglu* > *angle*.

162. In the following groups, whether primary or secondary, the palatal disappears without leaving any trace : *rcs*, *rcn*, *rgl*, *scl*, *ryl*, *ryn*, *rys*, *ryt*. For example : *másculu* > *masclu* > *masle* (> *male*—cf. 129). Cf. 103. Note 1.

163. When a preconsonantal palatal follows *n* (pronounced *ɲ*—cf. 178, and also 187) or *s*, except in the groups mentioned in 161 and 162, it drops out, but causes palatalization of the *n* or *s*; this palatalization then disappears, but generates an epenthetic *i* after the preceding vowel. In the group *ny'r* a transitional *d* is also inserted, and in the groups *nc'r*, *sc'r* a transitional *t* : *pascit* > *pasct* > *pašt* > *pa-ist* > *páist* (56); *těnyere* (CL. *těngěřě*) > *těnyre* > *těňre* > *tě-indre* > *těindre* (44).

164. In the following groups the palatal is replaced by a transitional *t* or *d*, but no epenthetic *i* is generated : *rc'r* > *rtr*; *ry'r* > *rdr*; *lg'r* > *ldr*. For example : *cárcere* > *charcere* > *chartre*.

Liquids

r

It should be borne in mind that the modern French pronunciation of *r* (the so-called 'uvular *r*') existed neither in VL. nor in OF. Until the 17th century *r* was pronounced with the tip of the tongue.

165. Initial *r* remains intact : *risu* > *ris*.

166. Intervocal *r* remains intact : *caru* > *chier*.

167. Double *r* remains intact when it is still intervocal in OF. (*terra* > *terre*); but it is simplified if it comes to be preconsonantal or final in OF. (*carru* > *char*).

168. Preconsonantal *r* remains intact : *porta* > *porte*. Cf. 103. Note 1.

169. Postconsonantal *r* remains intact : *labra* > *levre*. Cf. 103. Note 1.

170. Final *r* remains intact : *cor* > *cuer*.

l

171. Initial *l* remains intact : *luna* > *lune*.

172. Intervocal *l* remains intact : *tela* > *teile*.

173. Double *l* is simplified : *bella* > *bele*.

174. 1) Preconsonantal *l* (including *l* from *ll*) becomes *y* when it follows *a*, and then combines with the *a* into a diphthong : *falsu* > *fâus* ; *valles* > *vals* > *vâus*. Otherwise preconsonantal *l* remains intact, though it becomes *y* after almost all vowels at the very beginning of the second OF. period (281). Cf. 103. Note 1.

2) *l'r* and *ll'r* become *ldr* (*udr* after *a*) : *tôllere* > *tolre* > *toldre*.

175. After labials and *r* and *s*, *l* remains intact : *Cârolus* > *Carlus* > *Charles*. For *l* after other dentals, cf. 119. For *l* after palatals, cf. 159. For *l* after nasals, cf. 186. Cf. 103. Note 1.

176. Final *l* remains intact : *mel* > *miel*.

The Aspirate, *h*

177. *h* remains intact : *haga* (borrowed from Germanic *haga*) > *haie*.

Nasal Consonants

178. VL. had three nasal consonants : *m*, *n*, and *ɲ* (*ɲ* = *n* before VL. *k* and *g* ; pronounced like *ng* in English *sing*).

Note. In the following paragraphs we omit, for the sake of simplicity, all mention of the effect of the nasal consonants on the preceding vowel : cf. 35. Note 3 ; and, for the tonic vowels, 37, 38, 40, etc. ; for the initial-syllable pretonic vowels, 82, 83, 85, etc. In this regard, however, the following two differences between modern and Old French should be noted : (1) In modern French a vowel or diphthong is not nasal if the *n* or *m* is immediately

followed by a vowel; in Old French a vowel or diphthong was nasal under those conditions: OF. *âmes* (< VL. *amas*). (2) In modern French the nasal consonant is silent; in Old French it was pronounced: OF. *an* (< *annu*) was pronounced *ân*; modern French *an* is pronounced without any dental contact whatever. Cf. 249.

179. Initial nasal consonants remain intact: *nudu* > *nut*.

180. Intervocal nasal consonants, if they are still intervocal in OF., remain intact: *clamare* > *clamer*. But when they come to be final in OF., *m* becomes *n*, *n* remains *n* (103. Note 2): *amo* > *aim* > *ain* [*aim* or *ain*]; *vinu* > *vin*.

181. Double nasal consonants are simplified: *annellu* > *anel*. If *n* from *nn* comes to stand before *s* in OF., a transitional *t* is inserted: *annus* > *ans* > *ants* [*anz*—cf. 121].

182. The group *mn* (103. Note 1) becomes *mm* and then *m*: *omine* (CL. *hōmīnēm*) > *omne* > *omme* > *ome*. For *mn̄*, cf. 204.

183. The group *nm* (103. Note 1) also becomes *m*: *ánima* > *anne* > *ame*.

184. Before labials *m* remains intact; *n* becomes *m*: *ampli* > *ample*; OF. *en* + OF. *porter* (12. Note) > *enporter* > *emporter*. Cf. 103. Note 1.

185. Before dentals *n* remains intact; *m* becomes *n*: *ventu* > *vent*; *sémīta* > *semte* > *sente*. Cf. 103. Note 1.

186. When the nasal consonants come to stand before *l* and *r* in OF., there arises a transitional sound, *b* after *m*, *d* after *n*: *trēmūlāre* > *trem̄ler* > *trembler*; *tēneru* > *tenre* > *tendre*. Cf. 189. 2.

187. *ŋ* (178) remains intact as long as it is followed by a palatal: *longu* > *long* [*lone*]. But if the following palatal disappears, the *ŋ* changes in various ways (153. 2, and 163). Cf. 103. Note 1.

188. After labials and dentals the nasal consonants remain intact (except *n* after *m*—cf. 182): *verme* > *ver̄m*; *cornu* > *corn*. For the development of *n* after palatals, cf. 160. Cf. 103. Note 1.

189. 1) In the groups *rm*'s, *rn*'s, *rm*'t, *rn*'t the nasal consonants disappear: *dormit* > *dormt* > *dort*. Cf. 103. Note 1.

2) *rm*'r becomes *rbr*: *mármore* > *marbre*.

190. Final *m* (there were very few in VL.—cf. 21–28) becomes *n*; final *n* remains intact: *rem* > *rien*; *non* > *non*.

The Consonants + $\dot{i}$

Cf. the last paragraph of 16-20. The effect of palatalized consonants upon an ensuing a or e was exactly that of palatals—cf. 133. Note 2. For the reason stated in 133. Note 2, we will exclude all mention of this process from the following sections. Cf. also 348. 2.

$b\dot{i}$ $v\dot{i}$

191. $b\dot{i}$ and $v\dot{i}$ become $d\dot{z}$ (written j before a , o , u ; g before e , i): $*rab\dot{i}a$ (CL. $r\ddot{a}b\ddot{i}\ddot{e}s$) > $rage$; $camb\dot{i}are$ > $changier$.

$p\dot{i}$ $f\dot{i}$

192. 1) $p\dot{i}$ becomes $t\dot{s}$ [ch]: $sap\dot{i}a$ > $sache$.

2) $f\dot{i}$ becomes f , at the same time generating an epenthetic i after the preceding vowel: $cap\dot{i}a$ (borrowed from Germanic $kupphja$) > $cp-ife$ > $c\ddot{o}f\ddot{i}e$ (68).

$t\dot{i}$

193. Intervocal $t\dot{i}$ becomes z [s], at the same time generating an epenthetic i after the preceding vowel: $po\dot{t}ione$ > $p\ddot{o}-izon$ > $p\ddot{o}izon$ [$poison$] (97). When the iz comes to be final in OF., it becomes is (103. Note 2): $palat\dot{i}u$ > $pal\ddot{a}is$ (56).

194. $st\dot{i}$ becomes s (written ss when intervocal; s when final), at the same time generating an epenthetic i after the preceding vowel: $angost\dot{i}a$ (CL. $\ddot{a}ng\ddot{u}st\ddot{i}\ddot{a}$) > $ang\ddot{o}-isse$ > $ang\ddot{o}isse$ (68).

195. After other consonants than s , $t\dot{i}$ becomes ts (written c when intervocal; z when final): $*cap\dot{t}iare$ (CL. $\ddot{c}\ddot{a}pt\ddot{a}r\ddot{e}$) > $chacier$ (cf. statement immediately preceding 191).

$s\dot{i}$

196. Intervocalic $s\dot{i}$ becomes z [s], at the same time generating an

epenthetic *i* after the preceding vowel : *baſiat* > *ba-izet* > *báizet* [*baiset*] (56). If the *iz* comes to be final in OF., it becomes *is* (103. Note 2) : *pertuſiū* (CL. *pèrtūsūm*) > *pertúis* (72).

197. *ssĭ* becomes *s* (written *ss* when intervocal ; *s* when final), generating at the same time an epenthetic *i* after the preceding vowel : **baſſiare* > *ba-isier* > *báisier* [*baissier*] (cf. 90 ; also cf. statement immediately preceding 191).

kĭ

198. Intervocal *kĭ* becomes *ts* (written *c* when intervocal ; *z* when final) : *ſolaciū* (CL. *ſōlātĭūm*) > *ſolats* [*solaz*].

199. Postconsonantal *kĭ* likewise becomes *ts* ; except in the group *skĭ*, which becomes *s* (written *ss* when intervocal ; *s* when final), at the same time generating an epenthetic *i* after the preceding vowel : *lanciā* (CL. *lāncĕā*) > *lance* ; *faſciā* > *fa-isſe* > *fáisſe* (56).

lĭ

200. *lĭ* and *llĭ* become *ʎ*, which then develops like the *ʎ* discussed in 159 : *palĭa* (CL. *pālĕā*) > *paʎe* [*paille*] ; *melĭus* > *mielʎs* [*mielz*].

rĭ

201. Intervocal *rĭ* becomes *r*, at the same time generating an epenthetic *i* after the preceding vowel : *variū* > *va-ir* > *váir* (56).

202. Postconsonantal *rĭ* becomes *r*, at the same time generating an epenthetic *i* after the preceding vowel : *qstriā* (CL. *qſtrĕā*) > *q-istre* > *úistre* (62).

Note. The VL. suffix *-árĭu*, through some influence not yet satisfactorily explained, becomes OF. *-iēr* : *vĕriyárĭu* (CL. *vĕrdĭārĭūm*) > *vĕrdziēr* [*vergier*].

nĭ

203. Intervocal *nĭ*, *nnĭ*, *gnĭ*, become *ñ*, which then develops like the *ñ* discussed in 160 : *yunĭu* (CL. *jūnĭūm*) > *jűiñ* [*juing*] (72) ; *yunĭus* > *jűinz* ; *ſenĭore* > *ſĕñour* [*seignour*].

204. *mnĭ* generally becomes *ndž* (written *nj* before *a*, *o*, *u* ; *ng* before *e*, *i*) : *ſomniare* > *ſondžier* [*songier*] (cf. statement immediately preceding 191).

m̥i

205. *m̥i* and *mm̥i* become *ndž* (written *nj* before *a, o, u* ; *ng* before *e, i*) : *sin̥i*u > *singe*.

The Consonants + *u*

Cf. the last two paragraphs of 16–20.

206. 1) Almost all intervocal groups consisting of a consonant + *u* (a consonant followed by *u* is called a 'labialized' consonant) become *v* : *veḍya* (CL. *vḍḍā*) > *věve* (41).

2) Intervocal *nu* and *nnu* become *nv* : *annu*ale > *anvel*.

Note. The group consonant + *u* occurs very frequently in the perfect tenses of strong verbs : *abyi* (CL. *hābū*), *abyisti*, etc. But its development in these forms is extremely complicated. No definite formula obtains. We can only say that usually the consonant drops out, the *u* then combining in some manner with the preceding vowel : *debyit* > *dūt* (45).

CHAPTER IV

THE SECOND OLD FRENCH PERIOD

The following sections present the development down to ca. 1515 of those sounds existent ca. 1100. To attempt to date otherwise than very approximately the changes which took place between 1100 and 1515 would lead too far afield—cf. 31. Note. We do so only in especial cases. In our illustrative sequences the first form is, unless otherwise stated, Vulgar Latin; the second is Old French of ca. 1100; the last is Old French of ca. 1515.

VOWELS

207. The extreme tendency toward contraction (1-4) is still strong, showing itself especially in the reduction of diphthongs to monophthongs. Following is a detailed discussion of vowel-development during the period.

Note. As to vowel-quantity, the second period was transitional. On the one hand, not only those slight quantitative differences which had remained through the first period (35. Note 2), but even the difference between $\bar{e}$ and ξ (ibid.), tended to disappear entirely, both long and short vowels converging toward one duration, probably rather short than long; on the other hand, the germs of the modern French quantity-system (in which vowel-quantity varies according to the presence or absence of certain consonants, and according to the distance of the vowel in question from the end of the phrase or breath-group) were undoubtedly already present. It is therefore difficult, if not impossible, to draw detailed con-

clusions as to quantity. In this grammar we shall be content with the general conclusion that during the second period there were no important quantitative differences; save, of course, that diphthongs were longer than simple vowels. In the following sections we shall disregard the question of quantity (except in 210 and 211—cf. 35. Note 2). As to stress, cf. 35. Note 4, and 79. Note.

Oral Tonic Vowels and Diphthongs

ī

208. For provenience, cf. 36; 38; 39. 1; 43; 50; 56.

209. ī remains intact: *dīcere* > *dīre* > *dīre*. ī + y (281) becomes ĭ: *gentīlis* > *gentīls* > *gentīs*.

ē

210. For provenience, cf. 39. 2; 41. For development, cf. 211.

ē

211. For provenience, cf. 52. 1. During the thirteenth century both ē and ē (210), losing their quantitative difference (207. Note), become ē: *faba* > *fēve* > *fēve*; *mēttēre* (41) > *mētre* > *mētre*. Unless ē comes to be final, in which case it remains ē: *amatu* > *amēt* > *amē* [*amet*] (274). But ē + y (281) becomes ō [*eu*]: *capēllos* > *chevēls* > *chevōs* [*cheveus*]; and ē + y becomes ió [*ieu*]: *pālus* > *pēls* > *piós* [*pieus*].

ē

212. For provenience, cf. 46. 2; 48.

213. ē remains intact: *bēllu* > *bēl* > *bēl*. But very early in the second period ē + y (281) becomes ēáu, which then develops as explained in 248: *bēllus* > *bēls* > *bēáus*.

ā

214. For provenience, cf. 52. 2; 54.

215. ā remains intact: *passu* > *pas* > *pas*. Cf. also 174.

ø

216. For provenience, cf. 58. 2 ; 60 ; 73.

217. ø remains intact : *pørtā* > *pørte* > *pørte*. But when it comes to be final, it becomes ø ; **døssu* (CL. *dōrsūm*) > *døs* > *dø* [*dos*] (275). ø + y (281) becomes y [ou] : *føllis* > *føls* > *fūs* [*fous*].

y

218. For provenience, cf. 64. 2 ; 66.

219. y remains intact (*ou* becoming the favorite orthography—cf. 64. 2) : *gøtta* > *güte* > *güte* [*goute*]. But y + y (281) becomes y [ou] : *møltu* > *mült* > *müt* [*mout*].

ü

220. For provenience, cf. 45 ; 70.

221. ü remains intact : *cüra* > *cüre* > *cüre* [*cure*]. ü + y (281) becomes ü : *nüllus* > *nüls* > *nüs*.

éi

222. For provenience, cf. 56 ; 77.

223. éi becomes e during the first half of the period. This e remains intact, except when it comes to be final, in which case it becomes e (211) : *fácere* > *fěire* > *fere* [*faire*] ; *amai* (CL. *āmāvi*) > *amēi* > *ame* [*amāi*].

ei

224. For provenience, cf. 39. 1 ; 44.

225. éi becomes ei by the thirteenth century, and then, toward the end of the period, *uě* [oi] : *negru* > *něir* > *nuěr* [*noir*]. éi + y (281) becomes ö : *pelos* (CL. *pīlōs*) > *pěils* > *pös* [*peus*].

ei

226. For provenience, cf. 74 ; 77.

227. ei becomes uě toward the end of the period (225) : *nausiā* >

nôise > *nuêse* [*noise*]. For the development of the strong perfect form *ôï*, cf. 404.

ôï

228. For provenience, cf. 68.

229. *ôï* becomes *ôï* by the thirteenth century, and then, toward the end of the period, *uê* (225): *vôce* > *vôiz* > *vuêz* [*vois*].

ûï

230. For provenience, cf. 62 ; 72 ; 77.

231. *ûï* becomes *ûï* during the twelfth century : *fructu* > *frûit* > *frûit* [*fruit*].

âu

232. For provenience, cf. 174.

233. *âu* remains intact: *falsu* > *fâus* > *fâus*.

ôu

234. For provenience, cf. 57 ; 75.

235. *ôu* becomes *u* [*ou*] during the thirteenth century: *clavu* > *clôu* > *clû* [*clou*].

ôu

236. For provenience, cf. 64. 1 ; 69.

237. *ôu* becomes *ö* [*eu*] by the thirteenth century : *onpre* > *onpur* > *onör* [*oneur*] ; *ôu* + *u* (281) becomes *ö* : *splu* > *splûs* > *sös* [*seus*].

ôu

238. For provenience, cf. 63.

239. *ôu* becomes *ö* [*eu*] during the thirteenth century : *fœu* > *fôu* > *fö* [*feu*].

êu

240. This diphthong exists only in words borrowed from Late Latin (12) ; it corresponds to Late Latin *êu* and *aeu* : Late Latin *Hebraeum* = first period OF. *Hebrêu*.

241. *ĕu* becomes *ö* [*eu*] during the thirteenth century: first period OF. *Hebrĕu* (240) > second period OF. *Hebrö* [*Hebreu*].

iĕ

242. For provenience, cf. 46. 1 and 2; 52. 1.

243. During the first half of the period *iĕ* becomes *iĕ* (*fĕbre* > *fiĕvre* > *fiĕvre*); unless it comes to be final, in which case it remains *iĕ* (*pĕde* > *piĕt* > *piĕ*—cf. 274); or unless it comes to stand after *tĕ*, *dĕ*, *l*, or *h*, in which case it becomes *ĕ* toward the end of the thirteenth century, which then develops in accordance with 211 (*caru* > *tĕiĕr* [*chier*] > *chĕr* > *chĕr*). *iĕ* + *u* (281) becomes *iö* [*ieu*]: *cĕlos* (CL. *caelös*) > *ciĕls* > *ciös* [*cieus*].

uĕ

244. For provenience, cf. 58. 1 and 2.

245. *uĕ* becomes *ö* [*eu*] during the thirteenth century: *novu* > *nuĕf* > *nöf* [*neuf*]. *uĕ* + *u* (281) becomes *ö*: *dölet* > *duĕlt* > *döt* [*deut*].

iĕu

246. For provenience, cf. 51.

247. *iĕu* becomes *iö* [*ieu*] during the thirteenth century: *Dĕu* > *Diĕu* > *Diö* [*Dieu*].

ĕau

248. This triphthong, though not an heritage from the first period, was formed so early in the second (213) that it is entitled to a place in this list of sounds existent ca. 1100. Toward the end of the second period it becomes *au* [*eau*]: *bĕllus* > first period *bĕls* > early second period *bĕaus* > *bäus* [*beaus*].

Nasal Tonic Vowels and Diphthongs

249. Through almost all of the second period, vowels are nasal even before intervocal *n* or *m*, and nasal consonants are sounded after

the nasal vowels (178. Note). Toward the end of the period appear the beginnings of modern French usage in these two respects (276, 277, and 282½). For the sake of simplicity, however, we shall omit further mention of these new developments.

ĩ

250. For provenience, cf. 37 ; 38 ; 40. 1 ; 43 ; 50. Toward the end of the period ĩ becomes ê and then ê [i]: *pĩnu* > *pĩn* > *pẽn* [*pin*].

ẽ

251. For provenience, cf. 42. ẽ remains intact: *dẽgnat* (CL. *dignāt*) > *dẽñet* > *dẽñet* [*deignet*].

ā

252. For provenience, cf. 40. 2 ; 42 ; 47. 2 ; 49 ; 53. 2 ; 55. ā remains intact (the orthography of ā < e + nasal, is e; that of ā < a + nasal, is a): *tẽmplu* > *tāmp̃le* > *tāmp̃le* [*temple*]; *amplu* > *āmp̃le* > *āmp̃le* [*ample*].

ȳ

253. For provenience, cf. 59. 2 ; 61 ; 65. 1 and 2 ; 67.

254. ȳ becomes ȳ toward the end of the period: *pȳnte* > *pȳnt* > *pȳnt*.

ũ

255. For provenience, cf. 71. ũ remains intact: *ũnu* > *ũn* > *ũn*.

ái

256. For provenience, cf. 53. 1 ; 56.

257. ái becomes ěi during the twelfth century, and then, toward the end of the period, ě [ai] (258): *p̃ane* > *p̃áin* > *p̃en* [*pain*].

ěi

258. For provenience, cf. 40. 1 ; 44. ěi becomes ě [ei] toward the end of the period: *p̃l̃enu* > *p̃l̃ein* > *p̃l̃en* [*plein*].

ôï

259. For provenience, cf. 68.

260. *ôï* becomes *oĕ* [oi] toward the end of the period : *pognu* > *pôinh* > *poĕn* [poing].

ũï

261. For provenience, cf. 72. *ũï* becomes *ũĭ* during the first half of the period, and then, toward the end of the period, *ũĕ* [ui] : *jũnũu* > *jũinh* > *jũĕn* [juing].

iĕ

262. For provenience, cf. 47. 1 and 2 ; 53. 1. *iĕ* becomes *iĕ* toward the end of the period : *cane* > *chiĕn* > *chiĕn*.

uĕ

263. For provenience, cf. 59. 1. It happens that all of those words which contained *uĕ* ca. 1100, soon afterward substituted *ō* through some syntactical or analogical influence—cf. 10–11 ; 291 ; 299 ; 347 : *qmo* > *uĕn* > *ōme* (by analogy to *ōme* < *ōmine*—cf. 59. 2) (> *ōme*—cf. 254).

Posttonic Vowels

264. There are no posttonic penult vowels in the second Old French period—cf. 76.

265. In the ultima only *ĕ* is to be found unstressed—cf. 77 and 78. This *ĕ* remains intact : *terra* > *terrĕ* > *terrĕ*. But *ĕ* immediately following a stressed vowel loses its syllabic value toward the end of the second period : *vĭta* > first period OF. *vĭdĕ* > early second period OF. *vĭ-ĕ* > *vĭĕ* (that is, the two vowels *ĭ* and *ĕ* join in a diphthong).

Pretonic Vowels and Diphthongs

a) Post-Secondary-Stress (80)

266. When standing between consonants, post-secondary-stress vowels usually remain unchanged : *àbellàna* > *avèlaine* > *avèlaine*. But *èi* > *é*, and *éi* > *uè*.

267. When standing in hiatus with the tonic vowel, post-secondary-stress *é* becomes silent toward the end of the second period : *àrmatúra* > *armèdûre* > *armèûre* > *armûre*.

268. Post-secondary-stress *é* standing in hiatus with a preceding vowel is combined with it into a diphthong toward the end of the second period : *cri-* (stem of OF. *crier*) + OF. suffix *-erie* (12. Note) > first period OF. *cri-erie* > second period OF. *crierie*.

b) Initial-Syllable Pretonic

269. For provenience, cf. 81-102. Cf. also 79. Note.

270. Initial-syllable pretonic vowels or diphthongs standing before a consonant usually develop like the corresponding tonic vowels or diphthongs (208-263) : *avaru* > *aver* > *aver* (215); *dèlicátu* > *dèlgie* > *dögiet* [*deugiet*] (211). *é* (84 and 87) remains intact : *venîre* > *venîr* > *venîr*.

Note. Initial-syllable pretonic *é*, unlike tonic *é* (211), remains close.

271. Initial-syllable pretonic vowels or diphthongs which come to stand in hiatus with the following vowel usually develop like the corresponding tonic vowels or diphthongs (208-263), and retain meanwhile their syllabic value : **fidare* > *fîder* > *fî-cr* [*fier*] (209). But *é* (84 and 87) becomes silent toward the end of the second period : **cadentia* > *chêdance* > *chê-ance* > *chance*.

CONSONANTS

272. At the beginning of the second period Old French possessed the following consonants (cf. the table in 103):

	Oral Consonants					Nasal Consonants
	Mutes		Spirants		Liquids	(All liquids and nasal consonants are nasal.)
	Surds	Sonants	Surds	Sonants		
Labials	<i>p</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>v</i>		<i>m</i>
Dentals	<i>t</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>t̃, s, ʃ</i>	<i>d̃, z, ʒ</i>	<i>l, r</i>	<i>n</i>
Palatals	<i>k</i>	<i>g</i>			<i>ʎ</i>	<i>ɲ, ŋ</i>

Furthermore, the aspirate, *h*; and the semivowels, *ĩ, ũ*. Be it remarked that *ʃ* and *ʒ* occur only in the combinations *tʃ* (= *ch* in English *church*) and *dʒ* (= *j* in English *jar*). For the provenience of all these consonants, cf. 103–206.

Following is a detailed presentation of consonant-development during the second period (for nasal consonants, cf. 249). The ever present extreme tendency toward contraction (1–4) shows itself in the still further disintegration (along the same lines as set forth in 103) of many consonants heretofore resistant, and in the complete disappearance of many heretofore partially successful in resistance.

In these sections on the second period consonants, we shall register only changes from the status quo of ca. 1100. Silence as to the development of a consonant under such and such conditions, will mean that under those conditions the consonant remained unchanged throughout the period.

Simple Consonants

a) When Intervocal

273. Intervocal *d̃* and *t̃* (116) disappear in the course of the twelfth century: *vita* > *vide* > *vie*.

b) When Final

274. Final *t* (116 and 124) disappears in the course of the twelfth century: *perdat* > *perdet* > *perde*.

275. Final *t* (117. 1; 122. 3; 124) and final *s* (126; 127; 131; 132) remain intact, except as explained in 277: *tardu* > *tart* > *tart*; *passu* > *pas* > *pas*.

276. Final *h* (153. 2; 160; 203) becomes *n* toward the end of the second period. This *n* remains intact, except as explained in 277: *conju* (CL. *cūnĕm*) > *coih* > *coin* [*coing*].

277. Toward the end of the second period final consonants (including *t*, *s*, and *n*—cf. 275, 276, 279) became silent when followed in connected speech by a word beginning with a consonant. Whereafter those words which already possessed two pronunciations (103. Note 2) possessed three: VL. *vivu* > first period OF. *vif* or *viv* [*vif*] > second period OF. *vif* before a pause; *viv* [*vif*] before a vowel; *vi* [*vif*] before a consonant.

Consonant Groups

278. *dr* (118) becomes *rr* at the very beginning of the second period, and *rr* then soon becomes *r*: *patre* > *pedre* > *pere*. Similarly *dl* (119) becomes *ll* and then *l*: *Rodlandu* > *Rodlant* > *Rolant*.

279. 1) *ts* (121; 123; 134; 135. 2; 137; 153. 2; 160; 181; 195; 198; 199; 203) becomes *s* (written *s* or *z* when final; otherwise *c*) during the thirteenth century: *centu* > *tsent* > *sent* [*cent*]. When this *s* comes to be final, it shares the fate of other final consonants—cf. 277: *noce* (CL. *nŭcĕm*) > *nŏiz* (135) > *nuĕs* [*nois*], which then becomes, before a word beginning with a consonant, *nuĕ* [*nois*].

2) *tš* (139; 142. 1 and 2; 143. 1 and 2; 148. 2; 192. 1) becomes *š* [*ch*] during the thirteenth century: *causa* > *tšose* > *šose* [*chose*].

3) *dž* (138; 141; 143. 2; 148. 2; 150; 153; 191) becomes *ž* (written *j* before *a*, *o*, *u*; *g* before *e*, *i*) during the thirteenth century: *médicu* > *miedže* > *mieže* [*miege*].

280. Preconsonantal *s* (128 ; 130) becomes silent during the thirteenth century: *feſta* > *feſte* > *fete* [*feſte*].

281. At the very beginning of the second period, *l* before a consonant becomes *u*, which then combines in some manner with the preceding vowel—cf. 209 ; 211 ; 213 ; 217 ; 219 ; 221 ; 225 ; 237 ; 243 ; 245. Cf. also 174 and 282.

Note. At the end of a word the orthography *x* is often a substitute for the orthography *us*, or for a final *s* immediately following a *u*: for instance, the second period result of VL. *folliſ* (217) is written either *fouſ* or *fox* or *foux*.

282. *l* (+ consonant) which comes from *l'* (+ consonant) (153. 2 ; 159 ; 200) develops exactly like the *l* treated in 281: *vecluſ* > *viēlz* (159) > *viōſ* [*vieuſ*] (243).

282½. Toward the end of the period *n* and *m* become silent when preceding a consonant: *planta* > *plānte* > *plāte* [*plante*]. Cf. 249.

PART II

MORPHOLOGY

CHAPTER I

DECLENSION

The Declension of Nouns in Vulgar Latin and during the First Old French Period

In sections 1-4 we emphasized the constant tendency of the grammatical forms of Vulgar Latin and Old French toward a more analytic condition. Throughout this chapter that tendency will be so evident as to excuse us from further insistence upon it.

283. 1) Even before the beginning of the first period of Old French, that is, before ca. 600, Vulgar Latin nouns originally neuter had become either masculine or feminine. First of all, nouns in *-um* (CL. 2d declension) became masculines in *-us*; then neuters such as *cornu* (CL. 4th declension), and finally such as *nomen* (CL. 3d declension), also became masculines.

2) A number of often used Vulgar Latin neuter plurals of collective signification, such as *folia* (meaning *foliage*), came to be looked upon, because of the ending *-a*, as feminine singulars, and assumed singular significations; thus VL. *folia* came to mean *leaf*, and was given a new plural, VL. *folias* (288).

284. Even before ca. 600 the number of Vulgar Latin declensions had been reduced to three. The VL. 1st declension consisted of feminines (this statement, and all our statements relating to the classification of nouns, are approximate): these corresponded to the feminines of the CL. 1st declension, to the CL. 2d declension neuter plurals discussed in the preceding section, and to the feminines of the CL. 4th and 5th declensions (for example, VL. *nora* corresponds to CL. *nurus*, and VL. *facia* corresponds to CL. *facies*). The VL. 2d declension consisted of masculines: they corresponded to the masculines and neuters of the CL. 2d and 4th declensions (283. 1). The VL. 3d declension consisted of masculines and feminines corresponding to the masculines and neuters (283. 1), and to the feminines, of the CL. 3d declension.

285. Old French received from Vulgar Latin, and retained, two numbers, the singular and the plural.

286. 1) Even before ca. 600, the cases had already been reduced to two, the nominative and the accusative. The functions of the other cases had been either transferred to these two (for instance, the accusatives of nouns signifying persons could be used to denote possession: cf. OF. *li rei gonfanoniers* = *the standard-bearer of the King*), or expressed by prepositions.

2) A few remnants of other Latin cases than the nominative and the accusative are found, in stereotyped phrases, even as late as ca. 1100 (*gent paienour* < *gentem paganorum*).

287. The endings of the nominative and accusative cases underwent several changes during the Vulgar Latin period and the first Old French period. Since in this development gender played an important part, we shall discuss separately feminines and masculines. Indeed, we shall find that by ca. 1100 the VL. three-declension system (284) had been superseded by a six-declension system—three declensions of feminines and three of masculines.

288. Feminines, Class I) To this class belong those feminines which by ca. 1100 have come to end, in the nominative singular, in -*ç*: in other terms, those feminines which had constituted the VL.

1st declension (284). Following is the paradigm (in order to show clearly the difference between the various declensions, we divide each Old French form into a stem and an ending):

		CL.		VL.		OF. ca. 1100
Sing.	{	Nom.	<i>fīlīā</i>	=	<i>fīlīa</i>	> <i>fill</i> <i>ē</i>
	{	Acc.	<i>fīlīām</i>	=	<i>fīlīa</i>	> <i>fill</i> <i>ē</i>
Plu.	{	Nom.	<i>fīlīae</i>	=	<i>fīlīas</i>	> <i>fill</i> <i>ēs</i>
	{	Acc.	<i>fīlīās</i>	=	<i>fīlīas</i>	> <i>fill</i> <i>ēs</i>

Notice that in VL. these nouns had become flectionless in the singular because of the fall of final *-m* of the accusative (21-28), and had then added an *-s* in the nominative plural through a desire to make the plural likewise flectionless (cf. the second paragraph of 10-11).

Feminines, Class II) To this class belong those feminines which by ca. 1100 have come to end, in the nominative singular, in any sound other than *ē* (except those in Class III): in other terms, those VL. 3d declension feminines (284) which were not at the same time imparisyllabic and of personal signification (cf. the explanation of Class III). But cf. 290.

<i>virtūs</i>	=	<i>vertūte</i>	>	<i>vertut</i>
<i>virtūtēm</i>	=	<i>vertūte</i>	>	<i>vertut</i>
<i>virtūtēs</i>	=	<i>vertūtes</i>	>	<i>vertut</i> <i>s</i> [<i>vertuz</i> —cf. 121]
<i>virtūtēs</i>	=	<i>vertūtes</i>	>	<i>vertut</i> <i>s</i>

Notice that for nouns of this class VL. had already done away with any differences between the nominative singular and the accusative singular; this was through analogy to the non-differentiated plural forms (cf. the second paragraph of 10-11).

Feminines, Class III) To this class belong a few feminines which have developed into essentially different forms in the nominative singular and the accusative singular: in other terms, those VL. 3d declension imparisyllabic feminines which signified persons.

<i>sðrðr</i>	=	<i>sþror</i>	>	<i>suêr</i>
<i>sðrðrēm</i>	=	<i>sþrðre</i>	>	<i>sêrþur</i>
<i>sðrðrēs</i>	=	<i>sþrðres</i>	>	<i>sêrþur s</i>
<i>sðrðrēs</i>	=	<i>sþrðres</i>	>	<i>sêrþur s</i>

Notice that for these nouns VL. had not effaced the difference between the nominative singular and the accusative singular, as it had done for the other feminines of its 3d declension (cf. the explanation of Class II). This was doubtless because nouns signifying persons were often used in the vocative, whose form was in VL. always equivalent to that of the nominative; these nominatives and vocatives were together numerous enough to counteract the analogical tendency which affected other nouns.

Note. The forms *sgrour* and *sgrours* are irregular as to the development of their pretonic vowel; we would expect *u*, not *e* (91).

289. Masculines, Class I) To this class belong those masculines which by ca. 1100 have come to end in *-s* in the nominative singular: in other terms, those masculines which constituted the VL. 2d declension (284), excepting those in *-er* (cf. Class II); and the VL. 3d declension masculines, excepting imparisyllabic masculines of personal significance (cf. Class III). But cf. 290. This class may be divided further into two sub-classes, according as the OF. nominative singular ends in *-s* or *-es*. The paradigm of **sub-class a** is:

<i>mūrūs</i>	=	<i>mūrus</i>	>	<i>mur s</i>
<i>mūrūm</i>	=	<i>mūru</i>	>	<i>mur</i>
<i>mūrī</i>	=	<i>mūri</i>	>	<i>mur</i>
<i>mūrōs</i>	=	<i>mūros</i>	>	<i>mur s</i>

Sub-class b:

<i>āsīnūs</i>	=	<i>āsīnus</i>	>	<i>asn es</i> (78. 3)
<i>āsīnūm</i>	=	<i>āsīnu</i>	>	<i>asn e</i>
<i>āsīnī</i>	=	<i>āsīni</i>	>	<i>asn e</i>
<i>āsīnōs</i>	=	<i>āsīnos</i>	>	<i>asn es</i>

Masculines, Class II) To this class belong those masculines which by ca. 1100 have come to end in *-ē* in the nominative singular: in other terms, those VL. 2d and 3d declension masculines ending in *-er*.

<i>pătēr</i>	=	<i>páter</i>	>	<i>pedr ē</i> (78. 3)
<i>pătřēm</i>	=	<i>pátře</i>	>	<i>pedr ē</i>
<i>pătřēs</i>	=	<i>pátri</i>	>	<i>pedr ē</i>
<i>pătřēs</i>	=	<i>pátres</i>	>	<i>pedr ēs</i>

Notice that the VL. 3d declension nominative plural had adopted the ending *-i* through analogy to nouns like *murus* (cf. the second paragraph of 10–11).

Masculines, Class III) To this class belong those masculines which have developed into essentially different forms in the nominative singular and the accusative singular: in other terms, those VL. 3d declension imparisyllabic masculines of personal signification (cf. Feminines, Class III).

<i>hđmō</i>	=	<i>đmo</i>	>	<i>uen</i>
<i>hđmňnēm</i>	=	<i>đmine</i>	>	<i>ome</i>
<i>hđmňnēs</i>	=	<i>đmini</i>	>	<i>ome</i>
<i>hđmňnēs</i>	=	<i>đmines</i>	>	<i>ome s</i>

290. Indeclinables. Feminines, Class II, or Masculines, Class I. a, whose stems end in a sibilant, are indeclinable.

<i>nāsŷs</i>	=	<i>násus</i>	>	<i>nes</i> (127)
<i>nāsŷm</i>	=	<i>násu</i>	>	<i>nes</i>
<i>nāsī</i>	=	<i>nási</i>	>	<i>nes</i>
<i>nāsōs</i>	=	<i>nāsos</i>	>	<i>nes</i>

The Declension of Nouns during the Second Old French Period

291. During the second period two exactly contrary analogical tendencies (cf. the second paragraph of 10–11) were shown by

declension. One was to differentiate nominatives from accusatives in accordance with the type *murs*—*mur*; the other, to do away with such differentiation. The latter tendency won a complete victory toward the end of the period, partly because flectional *-s* had become silent before words beginning with a consonant (277), partly because accusatives were used more often than nominatives. The paradigms of the following sections are OF. forms of ca. 1100; after each paradigm stands a discussion of its development during the second period.

Feminines

292. For the provenience of the three feminine classes, cf. 288.

293.

Class I

Sing.	{ Nom.	<i>fill e</i>	Plu.	{ Nom.	<i>fill es</i>
	{ Acc.	<i>fill e</i>		{ Acc.	<i>fill es</i>

These nouns remained unchanged throughout the second period.

294.

Class II

<i>vertut</i>	<i>vertut s</i> [<i>vertuz</i>]
<i>vertut</i>	<i>vertut s</i>

About the middle of the twelfth century these nouns add *-s* to the nominative singular, from analogy with the inflection of masculines. During the thirteenth century, however, they again (like the masculines, as we shall see in 297 ff.) lose this *-s*. Cf. 291.

295.

Class III

<i>suer</i>	<i>serour s</i>
<i>serour</i>	<i>serour s</i>

The nouns of this class showed great diversity of development, not only as to the addition of *-s* to the nominative singular (294), but also

as to which stem, that of the nominative singular, or that of the accusative singular, should triumph (291). In some cases the nominative won the victory (as in the above word, whose accusative became *suer*, and whose plural, both nominative and accusative, became *suers*) ; in others the accusative ; in yet others both stems survived side by side. Cf. 299.

Masculines

296. For the provenience of the three masculine classes, cf. 289.

297.

Class I

a

mur s

mur

mur

mur s

b

asn çs

asn ç

asn ç

asn çs

In the thirteenth century these nouns began to change their nominatives, both singular and plural, to agree with the accusatives. Cf. 291.

298.

Class II

pedr ç

pedr ç

pedr ç

pedr çs

These nouns show for a time a tendency to add an analogical *-s* to the nominative singular. During the thirteenth century, however, they succumb to the process stated in 297 ; the singular is in both forms without *-s* ; the plural is in both forms with *-s*. Cf. 291.

299.

Class III

uen

ome

ome

ome s

During the thirteenth century these nouns add *-s* to the nominative plural. But they show great variety of development as to the temporary analogical adoption of *-s* in the nominative singular, and as to the final triumph of the nominative singular stem or the accusative singular stem (291). The development of *uen* is an excellent example of the complexity which marks nouns of this class : *uen* soon gives way to *on* through analogy with the accusative singular (263) ; besides the nominative singular *on* we find the nominative singular *om*, which may be an analogy to the accusative singular ; we also find the nominative singular *ome*, in which we have complete surrender to the accusative singular. Meanwhile the nominative singulars *ons*, *oms*, and *omes* are also common. Of all these forms *ome* proves the strongest ; toward the end of the period it is practically the sole survivor in the substantive use of the word (297), *on* surviving as an indefinite pronoun.

300. During the first and second periods stems often underwent changes because of the addition of flecional *-s*. For instance, in the declension of the following word the various stem-forms are due to the different phonological development of *n* under different conditions (188 and 189. 1):

VL.		OF.
<i>cōrnus</i>	>	<i>cor s</i>
<i>cōrnu</i>	>	<i>corn</i>
<i>cōrni</i>	>	<i>corn</i>
<i>cōrnos</i>	>	<i>cor s</i>

By the end of the second period the language had taken, in regard to these double-formed stems, one of three courses. (1) The form affected by *-s* had been generalized. Toward the end of the second period the above paradigm had become :

cor
cor
cor s
cor s

(2) The form not influenced by *-s* had been generalized. For example, instead of first period nominative singular *cles* < *clavis* (111), we find in the second period, from analogy with the accusative singular *clef* < *clavem* (106), the nominative singular *clefs*, which finally became, by the process stated in 297, *clef*. The noun was finally declined thus :

clef
clef
clef s
clef s

Of course the *f* of *clefs* soon became merely orthographic (111).

(3) In a few words both stem-forms are retained. For instance :

VL.	First OF. period	Second OF. period
<i>cabállus</i>	> <i>chevau s</i> (174)	> <i>cheval</i> (from analogy with acc. sing.)
<i>cabállu</i>	> <i>cheval</i> (173)	> <i>cheval</i>
<i>cabállí</i>	> <i>cheval</i> (173)	> <i>chevau s</i> (from analogy with acc. pl.)
<i>cabállos</i>	> <i>chevau s</i> (174)	> <i>chevau s</i>

Declension of Adjectives

301. In Vulgar Latin and in Old French, adjectives had three genders : masculine, feminine, and neuter. But in Old French the neuter was used only in the singular, and only as a predicate adjective referring to an expressed or understood neuter pronoun.

302. In VL. the adjectives fall, as in CL., into two classes : (1) adjectives of the first and second declensions ; (2) adjectives of the third declension. But during the VL. period and the first OF. period, adjective forms underwent changes similar to those of nouns. (1) The VL. feminine forms in *-a* developed like nouns in *-a* (288. I). (2) The VL. masculine forms in *-us* developed like nouns in *-us* (289. I). (3) Originally the VL. 3d declension adjectives were declined exactly alike in the masculine and in the feminine (as in CL.), but during the VL. period and the first OF. period these

adjectives, from analogy with the corresponding substantives, developed differing masculine and feminine forms for the nominative case of both numbers. The feminine nominative singular took the form of the accusative (early VL. *grandis*, *amans* > later VL. *grande*, *amante*; cf. 288. II). The masculine nominative singular took the form of the accusative, and added *-s* (early VL. *grandis*, *amans* > later VL. *grandes*, *amantes*; cf. 289. I). The feminine nominative plural retained the form in *-es* (VL. *grandes*, *amantes*; cf. 288. II). The masculine nominative plural substituted the ending *-i* for *-es* (early VL. *grandes*, *amantes* > later VL. *grandi*, *amanti*; cf. 289. II).

303. The above changes having taken place before ca. 1100, adjectives of the second OF. period may be divided into two classes according to the ending of the feminine nominative singular: Class I—those adjectives with feminine nominative singular in *-ē*; Class II—those with feminine nominative singular ending in a consonant. Class I may be further divided into three sub-classes corresponding to Masculines, Class I. a, and b, and Masculines, Class II (289. I and II). Following are the paradigms of these classes (the first column being always VL., the second being OF. of ca. 1100):

Class I

a

	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Sing.	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{N. } \textit{clārus} > \textit{cler s} \\ \text{A. } \textit{clāru} > \textit{cler} \end{array} \right.$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{clāra} > \textit{cler ē} \\ \textit{clāra} > \textit{cler ē} \end{array} \right.$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{clāru} > \textit{cler} \end{array} \right.$
Plu.	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{N. } \textit{clāri} > \textit{cler} \\ \text{A. } \textit{clāros} > \textit{cler s} \end{array} \right.$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{clāras} > \textit{cler ēs} \\ \textit{clāras} > \textit{cler ēs} \end{array} \right.$	

b

<i>tēpidus</i> > <i>tied ēs</i>	<i>tēpida</i> > <i>tied ē</i>	<i>tēpidu</i> > <i>tied ē</i>
<i>tēpidu</i> > <i>tied ē</i>	<i>tēpida</i> > <i>tied ē</i>	
<i>tēpidi</i> > <i>tied ē</i>	<i>tēpidas</i> > <i>tied ēs</i>	
<i>tēpidos</i> > <i>tied ēs</i>	<i>tēpidas</i> > <i>tied ēs</i>	

c

<i>têner</i>	>	<i>tendr</i> ç	<i>tênera</i>	>	<i>tendr</i> ç	<i>têneru</i>	>	<i>tendr</i> ç
<i>têneru</i>	>	<i>tendr</i> ç	<i>tênera</i>	>	<i>tendr</i> ç			
<i>têneri</i>	>	<i>tendr</i> ç	<i>têneras</i>	>	<i>tendr</i> çs			
<i>têneros</i>	>	<i>tendr</i> çs	<i>têneras</i>	>	<i>tendr</i> çs			

Class II

<i>amântes</i>	>	<i>amant</i> s [amanz]	<i>amânte</i>	>	<i>amant</i>	<i>amânte</i>	>	<i>amant</i>
<i>amânte</i>	>	<i>amant</i>	<i>amânte</i>	>	<i>amant</i>			
<i>amânti</i>	>	<i>amant</i>	<i>amântes</i>	>	<i>amant</i> s			
<i>amântes</i>	>	<i>amant</i> s	<i>amântes</i>	>	<i>amant</i> s			

For the declension of flectional comparatives, cf. 309.

304. During the second OF. period the forms of the adjectives show the same analogical tendencies which we have noticed in nouns. For instance, the adjectives of Class I. c add and then lose *-s* in the masculine nominative singular (298).

305. As was true of nouns (300), the stems of the adjectives often underwent changes because of the addition of flectional *-s*; furthermore, adjective-stems also generated differences because of VL. differences in the masculine and feminine endings. During the second OF. period the language treated these differences as it treated differences in noun-stems (300). The following paradigm shows three stem-forms during the first period, two during the second (for the different developments of *v*, cf. 106 and 111):

<i>vîvus</i>	>	<i>vi</i> s	>	<i>vif</i>	<i>vîva</i>	>	<i>viv</i> ç	>	<i>viv</i> ç	<i>vîvu</i>	>	<i>vif</i>	>	<i>vif</i>
<i>vîvu</i>	>	<i>vif</i>	>	<i>vif</i>	<i>vîva</i>	>	<i>viv</i> ç	>	<i>viv</i> ç					
<i>vîvi</i>	>	<i>vif</i>	>	<i>vif</i> s	<i>vîvas</i>	>	<i>viv</i> çs	>	<i>viv</i> çs					
<i>vîvos</i>	>	<i>vi</i> s	>	<i>vif</i> s	<i>vîvas</i>	>	<i>viv</i> çs	>	<i>viv</i> çs					

Of course the *f* of *vifs* soon became merely orthographic (111).

306. During the second OF. period we find many forms which, considered in the light of the above paradigms, are irregular, the

irregularities being generally due to analogical tendencies. For example, we find, side by side with the feminine nominative singular *grant*, a feminine nominative singular *grande*, made after the pattern of such feminine nominative singulars as *clere*. Indeed, by the end of the second period almost all adjectives had been attracted by analogy into Class I. a, or Class I. b, according as they ended, in the masculine accusative singular, in a consonant or in *-ç*. Since Class I had meanwhile lost the *-s* of the masculine nominative singular, and had added *-s* in the masculine nominative plural (297); since furthermore neuter forms, now that masculine nominative singular *-s* had been dropped, could not be distinguished from masculine forms; we may say that, ca. 1515, French adjectives were practically what they are to-day.

Comparison of Adjectives

307. Classical Latin used flectional means to express comparison; Vulgar Latin showed an ever greater preference for paraphrases formed by prefixing adverbs to the adjectives. As a result, Old French regularly expressed the comparative by prefixing the adverb *plus* (< VL. *plus*) to the positive of the adjective; and the superlative by prefixing the definite article to the comparative formed with *plus*.

308. A few VL. flectional comparatives withstood this tendency, and developed into OF. words: for example, VL. *máyor* > OF. *máirę* (cf. 56; 78.3; and 151).

309. These flectional comparatives developed along the same lines as Masculines, Class III (289 and 299) and Feminines, Class III (288 and 295). The following paradigm presents the VL. forms and those of OF. of ca. 1100:

<i>máyor</i> > <i>maire</i>	<i>máyor</i> > <i>maire</i>	<i>máyus</i> > <i>mais</i>
<i>mayóre</i> > <i>maiour</i>	<i>mayóre</i> > <i>maiour</i>	
<i>mayóri</i> > <i>maiour</i>	<i>mayóres</i> > <i>maiour s</i>	
<i>mayóres</i> > <i>maiour s</i>	<i>mayóres</i> > <i>maiour s</i>	

In regard to the second period development of these adjectives, cf. 295; 299; 305; 306.

310. A very few flectional superlatives developed into OF. words, but generally assumed meanwhile positive signification. VL. *péssimus* > OF. *pesmes* = *bad* (declined like *tiedes*—cf. 303).

Formation of Adverbs

311-313. In Vulgar Latin, though a few adverbs corresponded to Classical Latin forms (for example, VL. *béne*, which became OF. *bien*), most were new formations, composed of an adjective agreeing with the ablative *mente* (*mens*): for example, VL. *malamente* instead of CL. *male*. These VL. compounds developed phonologically into OF. adverbs: *màlaménte* > *malément* (80. 1).

Numerals

314-319. The ordinals were all declined in Class I. a, or b, of adjectives (303). The cardinals were in general indeclinable. But *ũns* was declined like an adjective of Class I. a; *trêi*, *vĩnt*, and *tsānt* [*cent*] like adjectives of Class II (303). *Dũi*, whose forms were quite irregular in their development from VL., was declined as follows:

	First period			Second period	
Masc.	Nom.	<i>dũi</i>	>	<i>deus</i> (from analogy with acc.)	
	Acc.	<i>dôus</i>	>	<i>deus</i> (237)	
Fem.	Nom.	<i>dôus</i>	>	<i>deus</i>	
	Acc.	<i>dôus</i>	>	<i>deus</i>	

Pronouns and Pronominal Adjectives

320. Pronouns show a greater abundance of flectional forms than nouns, inasmuch as (1) position in the sentence (cf. the third paragraph of 10-11) often gave rise to double development; (2) neuter forms were often retained; (3) some dative forms, and, with functional change, some genitive plurals, were retained.

In the following paradigms first columns are VL. forms, second columns are OF. forms of ca. 1100. To each paradigm is added a brief account of development during the second period.

No attempt will be made to explain fully the origin of the VL. forms, nor even their development into OF. forms. To do so would necessitate discussion of too many difficult problems.

Personal Pronouns

321.		1st person		2d person	
		Stressed	Unstressed	Stressed	Unstressed
Sing.	Nom.	<i>ęó > dżu[jo]</i>	<i>ęó > dżę[je]</i>	<i>tu > tū</i>	<i>tu > tū</i>
	Dat.	<i>mę > męi</i>	<i>mę > mę</i>	<i>tę > tęi</i>	<i>tę > tę</i>
	Acc.				
Plu.	Nom.	<i>nos > nus[66]</i>	<i>nos > nus</i>	<i>vos > vus</i>	<i>vos > vus</i>
	Dat.	<i>nos > nus</i>	<i>nos > nus</i>	<i>vos > vus</i>	<i>vos > vus</i>
	Acc.				

During the second period the unstressed forms remained unchanged. Except *dżę*, which became *żę* (279. 3). Of the stressed forms, the nominatives *jo* and *tu* were gradually superseded by the accusatives *moi* and *toi* (for *oi* in these forms, cf. 225).

322.

3d person

Stressed forms

		Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Sing.	Nom.	<i>ęłłi > ęł</i>	<i>ęlla > ęłę</i>	<i>ęłły > ęł</i>
	Dat.	<i>ęłłai > kúi</i>	<i>ęłłi > li</i>	
	Acc.			
Plu.	Nom.	<i>ęłłi > ęł</i>	<i>ęłlas > ęłęs</i>	
	Dat.	<i>ęłłory > lóur</i>	<i>ęłłory > lóur</i>	
	Acc.	<i>ęłłos > ęłs</i>	<i>ęłlas > ęłęs</i>	

These VL. forms correspond in general to the forms of CL. *illē* (for change of *ī* to *e*, cf. 16–20), though there is much evidence of analogical change (cf. the second paragraph of 10–11): for example, VL. *ēllī* and *ēllīi* are due to analogy with the interrogative pronoun forms *qui* and *cūi*. Notice the VL. use of *elloru* (CL. *illōrūm*) as a dative. By the end of the second period the same tendency which affected nouns—that is, to make the cases of the singular alike, and the cases of the plural alike—had resulted in the following forms:

Sing.	{	Nom.	<i>lūf</i> (231)	<i>elē</i> (211)	(The neuter had by this time disappeared.)
		Dat.	<i>lūf</i>	<i>elē</i>	
		Acc.			
Plu.	{	Nom.	<i>eus</i> (211)	<i>elēs</i>	
		Dat.	<i>leur</i> (237)	<i>leur</i>	
		Acc.	<i>eus</i>	<i>elēs</i>	

323.

Unstressed forms

		Masculine		Feminine		Neuter	
Sing.	{	Nom.	ēllī > īl	ēlla > elē	ēllu > el		
		Dat.	ēllī > lī	ēllī > lī			
		Acc.	ēllō > { lū [lo] lē	ēllā > la	ēllō > { lū [lo] lē		
Plu.	{	Nom.	ēllī > īl	ēllas > elēs			
		Dat.	ēllōru > lūr [95]	ēllōru > lūr			
		Acc.	ēllōs > les	ēllās > les			

During the second period the neuter passed from usage. The form *lo* also died out. The forms *lī* and *lūr* were replaced by the stressed forms *lūi* and *leur* (322).

324. The VL. 3d person reflexive pronoun *sē* became *sēi* (but cf. 225) when stressed, *sē* when unstressed (cf. the third paragraph of 10–11.)

325. 1) When an unstressed personal pronoun ending in a vowel

immediately preceded a word beginning with a vowel, the pronoun generally lost its vowel: for example, *il m'aime*.

2) When an unstressed *me*, *te*, *se*, *lo*, *le*, or *les* immediately followed a word ending in a vowel, the pronoun was generally shortened in some manner: *ne m'*; *purquei t'*; *ne s* (= *ne les*). This process was very common in the first period, but had passed out of usage by the end of the second.

Possessives of the Singular

326.

Stressed forms

		1st person		2d person		3d person	
Masc.	Sg.	Nom.	mêus > miêns	têus > tuêns	sêus > suêns		
		Acc.	mêum > miên	têum > tuên	sêum > suên		
	Pl.	Nom.	mêi > miên	têi > tuên	sêi > suên		
		Acc.	mêos > miêns	têos > tuêns	sêos > suêns		
Fem.	Sg.	Nom.	mêa > mêiç	têa > têuç	sêa > sêuç		
		Acc.					
	Pl.	Nom.	mêas > mêiçs	têas > têuçs	sêas > sêuçs		
		Acc.					
Neu.	(301)		mêum > miên	têum > tuên	sêum > suên		

Of these OF. masculine forms only the accusative singulars were normally derived from VL. forms; the others were entirely analogical—made out of whole cloth, as it were, with the OF. accusative singulars as patterns (cf. the second paragraph of 10–11). During the second OF. period the masculine forms develop along the same lines as do Masculines, Class I. a (297). But during the thirteenth century arise the forms *tien*, *sien*, etc., from analogy with *mien*, etc. *Meie* becomes *moie* (225), and then arise, by analogy, *toie*, *soie*, etc. But toward the end of the period we also find *miene*, *tiene*, *sienne*, etc., from analogy with the masculine forms. Cf. also 262.

327.

Unstressed forms

		1st person		2d person		3d person	
Masc.	Sg.	{ Nom.	<i>mōs</i> > <i>mēs</i>	<i>tōs</i> > <i>tēs</i>	<i>sōs</i> > <i>sēs</i>		
		{ Acc.	<i>mōm</i> > <i>mōn</i>	<i>tōm</i> > <i>tōn</i>	<i>sōm</i> > <i>sōn</i>		
	Pl.	{ Nom.	<i>mī</i> > <i>mī</i>	<i>tī</i> > <i>tī</i>	<i>sī</i> > <i>sī</i>		
		{ Acc.	<i>mōs</i> > <i>mēs</i>	<i>tōs</i> > <i>tēs</i>	<i>sōs</i> > <i>sēs</i>		
Fem.	Sg.	{ Nom.	<i>ma</i> > <i>ma</i>	<i>ta</i> > <i>ta</i>	<i>sa</i> > <i>sa</i>		
		{ Acc.					
	Pl.	{ Nom.	<i>mas</i> > <i>mēs</i>	<i>tas</i> > <i>tēs</i>	<i>sas</i> > <i>sēs</i>		
		{ Acc.					

These VL. forms are hardly recognizable from the view-point of CL. Lightly stressed VL. possessives seem to have shifted what stress they did have to their last syllables (cf. 333), and the penultimate vowels then fell: early VL. *mēus* > *meūs* > *mūs* > late VL. *mōs* (16-20). During the second OF. period the above nominatives were supplanted by the accusatives. Otherwise there was no change, save that *mōn*, etc., became *mōn*, etc. (270 and 254).

Possessives of the Plural

328.

Stressed forms

		1st person		2d person		3d person		
Masc.	Sg.	{ Nom.	<i>nōster</i> > <i>nōstre</i>	<i>vōster</i> > <i>vōstre</i>	<i>ellōru</i> > <i>lōur</i>			
		{ Acc.	<i>nōstru</i> > <i>nōstre</i>	<i>vōstru</i> > <i>vōstre</i>	"	"	"	
	Pl.	{ Nom.	<i>nōstri</i> > <i>nōstre</i>	<i>vōstri</i> > <i>vōstre</i>	"	"	"	
		{ Acc.	<i>nōstros</i> > <i>nōstre</i>	<i>vōstros</i> > <i>vōstre</i>	"	"	"	
Fem.	Sg.	{ Nom.	<i>nōstra</i> > <i>nōstre</i>	<i>vōstra</i> > <i>vōstre</i>	"	"	"	
		{ Acc.						
	Pl.	{ Nom.	<i>nōstras</i> > <i>nōstre</i>	<i>vōstras</i> > <i>vōstre</i>	"	"	"	
		{ Acc.						

During the second period *nostre* and *vostre* show the same tendencies as adjectives of Class I. c (303 and 304). In accordance with 237, *lour* becomes *leur*; it also adds *-s* to its plural forms. Cf. also 280.

329. Unstressed forms

		1st person		2d person		3d person	
Masc.	Sg.	{ Nom.	<i>nôster</i> > <i>nôstre</i>	<i>vôster</i> > <i>vôstre</i>	<i>ellôru</i> > <i>lur</i> [95]		
		{ Acc.	<i>nôstru</i> > <i>nôstre</i>	<i>vôstru</i> > <i>vôstre</i>	" " "		
	Pl.	{ Nom.	<i>nôstri</i> > <i>nôstre</i>	<i>vôstri</i> > <i>vôstre</i>	" " "		
		{ Acc.	<i>nôstros</i> > <i>nôts</i> [noz]	<i>vôstros</i> > <i>vôts</i>	" " "		
Fem.	Sg.	{ Nom.	<i>nôstra</i> > <i>nôstre</i>	<i>vôstra</i> > <i>vôstre</i>	" " "		
		{ Acc.					
	Pl.	{ Nom.	<i>nôstras</i> > <i>nôts</i>	<i>vôstras</i> > <i>vôts</i>	" " "		
		{ Acc.					

Notice that VL. *nôstros*, when stressed, gave, by normal phonological development, *nôstres*; when not stressed, the strongly contracted form *nôz* (cf. the third paragraph of 10-11). During the second period *lur* was supplanted by the stressed forms *leur* and *leurs* (328). Cf. the similar substitution in 323. Cf. also 279. 1; and 280.

Demonstratives

330.

icil and *cil*

		Masculine		Feminine		Neuter	
Sing.	Nom.	<i>eccëlli</i> > <i>icil</i>		<i>eccëlla</i> > <i>icëlle</i>		<i>eccëllu</i> > <i>icël</i>	
		<i>eccëllui</i> > <i>icëllui</i>		<i>eccëlléi</i> > <i>icëli</i>		<i>eccëllu</i> > <i>icël</i>	
	Acc.	<i>eccëllu</i> > <i>icël</i>		<i>eccëlla</i> > <i>icëlle</i>		<i>eccëllu</i> > <i>icël</i>	
Plu.	Nom.	<i>eccëlli</i> > <i>icil</i>		<i>eccëllas</i> > <i>icëllés</i>			
	Acc.	<i>eccëllôs</i> > <i>icëllés</i>		<i>eccëllas</i> > <i>icëllés</i>			

From the earliest to the latest OF. documents we find the abbreviated forms *cil*, *cele*, etc., side by side with *icil*, *icele*, etc.

The VL. forms given above are compounds of VL. *ecce* and the forms of VL. *elli* (322). During the second OF. period *icel* and *iceli* passed from usage, leaving *icelui* and *icele* (which had become *icēlē*—cf. 211) as sole accusative singulars. In the thirteenth century the nominatives *icil* added an analogical *-s*, but these new forms were soon supplanted by the accusatives *icelui* and *iceus* (*icels* had become *iceus*—cf. 211). The *c* of the above OF. forms was pronounced *ts* (137); for its pronunciation during the second period, cf. 279. 1.

331.

icist and *cist*

		Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Sing.	Nom.	<i>eccesti</i> > <i>icist</i>	<i>eccesta</i> > <i>icēstē</i>	<i>eccestu</i> > <i>icēst</i>
	Acc.	<i>eccestūi</i> > <i>icēstūi</i>	<i>eccestēi</i> > <i>icēsti</i>	<i>eccestu</i> > <i>icēst</i>
Plu.	Nom.	<i>eccesti</i> > <i>icist</i>	<i>ecceſtas</i> > <i>icēts</i> [<i>icez</i>]	
	Acc.	<i>ecceſtoſ</i> > <i>icēts</i>	<i>ecceſtas</i> > <i>icēts</i>	

Cist exists side by side with *icist* (cf. *cil*, 330).

The above VL. forms are compounds of VL. *ecce* and VL. *eſti* (CL. *iſte*). During the second period this pronoun developed exactly as did *icil* (330). Cf. also 279. 1, and 280.

332.

ico and *co*

VL. *ecceþc* (CL. *ēcē* + *hōc*) becomes the OF. neuter singular demonstrative pronoun *itsu* [*ico*]. The abbreviated form *co* is also common (cf. *cil* and *cist*, 330 and 331). Early in the second period *ico*, owing to its unstressed nature, is weakened to *cē*. Cf. also 279. 1.

The Definite Article

333.

	Masculine		Feminine	
Sing.	Nom.	$\text{ell}\dot{\text{i}} > \dot{\text{l}}\dot{\text{i}}$	$\text{ell}\dot{\text{a}} > \dot{\text{a}}$	
	Acc.	$\text{ell}\acute{\text{o}} > \begin{cases} \text{l}\acute{\text{y}} [\text{lo}] \\ \text{l}\acute{\text{e}} \end{cases}$	$\text{ell}\acute{\text{a}} > \text{a}$	
Plu.	Nom.	$\text{ell}\dot{\text{i}} > \dot{\text{l}}\dot{\text{i}}$	$\text{ell}\acute{\text{as}} > \text{l}\acute{\text{es}}$	
	Acc.	$\text{ell}\acute{\text{o}}\text{s} > \text{l}\acute{\text{e}}\text{s}$	$\text{ell}\acute{\text{a}}\text{s} > \text{l}\acute{\text{e}}\text{s}$	

Notice that the VL. forms are the same as those of the VL. personal pronoun $\text{ell}\dot{\text{i}}$, except that what little stress there is has been shifted to the last syllable in every form, a tendency characteristic of slightly stressed words (cf. those of 327). With certain prepositions the article was contracted: for example, $a + \text{le}$ became al (which then, before words beginning with a consonant, became au —cf. 174). Before words beginning with a vowel, lo , le , and la elided their vowel; nom. sing. $\dot{\text{l}}\dot{\text{i}}$ might or might not do so; nom. pl. $\dot{\text{l}}\dot{\text{i}}$ never did so. By ca. 1515 the accusative forms had supplanted the nominative forms; and lo had passed out of usage.

Relatives and Interrogatives

334.

qui (relative)

	Masculine and Feminine		Neuter	
			Stressed	Unstressed
Sing.	Nom.	$\text{kwi} > \text{k}\dot{\text{i}} [\text{qui}]$	$\text{kwe}\acute{\text{d}} > \text{k}\acute{\text{e}}\dot{\text{i}}\dot{\text{t}} [\text{queid}]$	$\text{kwe}\acute{\text{d}} > \text{k}\acute{\text{e}} [\text{que}]$
	Dat.	$\text{c}\acute{\text{u}}\text{i} > \begin{cases} \text{Dat.} \\ \text{Acc.} \end{cases} \text{c}\acute{\text{u}}\text{i}$		
	Acc.	$\text{kwe} > \text{k}\acute{\text{e}} [\text{que}]$	$\text{kwe}\acute{\text{d}} > \text{k}\acute{\text{e}}\dot{\text{i}}\dot{\text{t}}$	$\text{kwe}\acute{\text{d}} > \text{k}\acute{\text{e}}$
Plu.	Nom.	$\text{kwi} > \text{k}\dot{\text{i}}$		
	Dat.	$\text{c}\acute{\text{u}}\text{i} > \begin{cases} \text{Dat.} \\ \text{Acc.} \end{cases} \text{c}\acute{\text{u}}\text{i}$		
	Acc.	$\text{kwe} > \text{k}\acute{\text{e}}$		

The genitive case of the relative is expressed by *dõnt* < VL. *dõnde* (CL. *dē ūnde*). Cf. also 254.

qui (interrogative)

		Neuter	
		Stressed	Unstressed
Masculine and Feminine			
Sing.	Nom. <i>kwī</i> > <i>kī</i>	<i>kwēd</i> > <i>kēt</i>	<i>kwēd</i> > <i>kē</i>
	Dat. <i>cūi</i> > { Dat. <i>cūi</i> Acc. }	(Acc.) <i>kwēd</i> > <i>kēt</i>	<i>kwēd</i> > <i>kē</i>
Plu.	Nom. <i>kwī</i> > <i>kī</i>		
	Dat. <i>cūi</i> > { Dat. <i>cūi</i> Acc. }		

In regard to the *kw* of the VL. forms given above, cf. the remark preceding 154. During the second OF. period *cui* was replaced by *qui*. In regard to the second period development of *kēt*, cf. 225 and 274.

335.

quels

VL. *kwālis* becomes *kēls* [*quels*], which is declined like, and develops like, adjectives of Class II (303). Cf. also 211.

Indefinites

336. Almost all the indefinite pronouns and pronominal adjectives are declined like, and develop like, the adjective paradigms (303). For example, *nūls* (< *nūllus*) falls into Class I. a of adjectives; *tēls* (< *tālis*), into Class II.

CHAPTER II

CONJUGATION

Conjugation in Vulgar Latin and during the First Old French Period

Throughout our presentation of the verbs phonetic symbols and diacritic marks are used only when their absence would be apt to leave the student in doubt as to the pronunciation. This principle is extremely subjective in nature, but phonetic transcription of every verb-form might retard students in the acquirement of ability to identify the verb-forms of texts and manuscripts. Only two letters, *t* and *d*, are invariably represented phonetically: if they are not transcribed as *t*, *d*, it may be understood that they are pronounced *t*, *d* (13-14).

337. That analytic tendency of Vulgar Latin, which in declension led to the substitution of prepositional phrases for certain of the cases (cf. remark immediately before 283), showed itself also in the inflection of verbs. The most important differences between Classical Latin and Vulgar Latin conjugation were as follows:

1) Instead of the CL. passive, VL. used combinations of the past participle and the VL. verb **ēssere* (VL. *amatus sum* instead of CL. *amor*).

2) As to active forms:

a) In early VL., as in CL., the perfect indicative had two uses: to express completed action as an occurrence now completed (the 'past indefinite' of modern French grammars), or to express completed action as a simple occurrence, without further limitation (that is, the 'aoristic' use). In the aoristic use late VL. retained forms corresponding to the CL. perfect (and we will therefore call this VL.—OF. tense the 'perfect'), but in the past indefinite use began to prefer combinations of *habere* (or **éssere*) and the past participle (VL. *amatum habeo* instead of CL. *amavi*). Similar combinations were used for the pluperfect indicative.

b) Instead of the CL. future, VL. used a combination of the infinitive with the present indicative of *habere* (instead of CL. *amabo*, VL. *amare habeo*). A new tense, the conditional, was formed by combining the infinitive with the imperfect indicative of *habere*.

c) The functions of the CL. imperfect subjunctive and perfect subjunctive were assumed in VL. by the pluperfect subjunctive (VL. *amassem*—corresponding to CL. *amavissem*—instead of CL. *amarem* and *amaverim*).

d) Instead of the CL. second plural imperative, VL. used the second plural present indicative (VL. *amatis* instead of CL. *amate*). Furthermore, VL. used the first plural present indicative as a first plural imperative (VL. *amamus* = *let us love*). Cf. 358; 369; 373; 379; and page 112, line 7.

338. Grammarians often divide verbs into two classes—'weak' and 'strong.' A weak verb is one whose perfect has no stem-stressed forms; a strong verb is one whose perfect first and third singular and third plural are stressed on the stem. For various reasons it is convenient to classify VL.—OF. verbs by this system (in the following classification be it borne in mind that VL. and CL. infinitives were generally identical in form):

1) **Weak Verbs, Class I.** Here belong practically all VL. verbs ending in *-āre*; in OF. they end in *-ēre* or *-iēre* (52. 1).

Weak Verbs, Class II. Here belong practically all VL. verbs ending in *-īre*; in OF. they end in *-īre* (36). This class

is subdivided : **II. a)** those VL. *-îre* verbs which had not adopted the so-called inceptive or inchoative suffix *-sc-* ; **II. b)** those which had adopted that suffix in certain tenses (cf. 373). Classical Latin is here of no assistance to our memories, for many verbs which were without the inceptive suffix in CL., and in early VL., adopted it in later VL. Ca. 1100 only about thirty verbs still remained in **II. a**, of which the most important were : *bulir* ; *cuillir* ; *cuvrir* ; *dormir* ; *eissir* ; *falir* ; *ferir* ; *fūdir* ; *fūdir* ; *glutir* ; *grondir* ; *haçir* ; *jodir* ; *mentir* ; *merir* ; *oçir* ; *ofrir* ; *partir* ; *repentir* ; *salir* ; *sentir* ; *servir* ; *sortir* ; *sufrir* ; *uvrir* ; *vertir* ; *vestir*.

Weak Verbs, Class III. Here belong about twenty VL. verbs ending in *çere* ; in OF. they end in *-reç* (76). The nucleus of this class had been the VL. compounds of *dare* : for example, VL. *rêndere* (= CL. *rêddere*—*rênd-* instead of *rêdd-* was from analogy with *prêndere*). These verbs were strong in CL. (*rêddidi*), and had been so in early VL., but became weak in later VL., as a result of the process called recomposition (15. Note) ; this process, affecting the perfect-stem tenses (VL. *rendédi* = CL. *rêddidi*) but not the present-stem tenses (VL. *rêndo* = CL. *rêddo*), caused what was really the perfect of *dare* to seem like endings. To this nucleus were added, toward the end of the VL. period, some other verbs, most of them with stem in *-nd* (for example, VL. *respôndere*), which through some analogical influence adopted the perfect of *dare* as perfect endings. Following are the most important verbs of Weak, III ; *batre* ; *descendre* ; *fendre* ; *fondre* ; *naistre* ; *pendre* ; *perdre* ; *rendre* ; *respondre* ; *rompre* ; *suivre* ; *tendre* ; *veindre* ; *vendre* ; *vivre*.

2) Strong Verbs. Here belong practically all VL. verbs ending in *-êre* and *çere* (except those mentioned just above) ; in OF. they end in *-êir* or *ir* (39. 1) and *-reç* (76). Here belong also those very few VL. verbs in *-âre* and *-îre* which are not weak (cf. 385 ; 415 ; 420). All these VL.—OF. verbs fall into three classes : **Strong, I)** those whose perfect first singular ends in *-i* in VL., which ending disappears in OF. (*vîdi* > *vi*) ; **Strong, II)** those whose perfect first

singular ends in VL. in *-si*, in OF. in *-s* (**prēsī* — CL. *prēhēndī* — *>* *pris*); **Strong, III**) those whose perfect first singular ends in VL. in *-yi*, in OF. in various manners: (*dēbyi* *>* *dūi* — cf. 206. Note; 342. 3; and 404). In the inflection of their non-perfect-stem tenses (the tenses formed on the perfect-stem are the perfect indicative and the imperfect subjunctive) most of the strong verbs follow Weak, III (but cf. 382).

ENDINGS

In the following sections we do not attempt to explain all differences between the CL. and the VL. forms. To do so would lead too far afield.

339.

Present Indicative

Weak, I

CL.		VL.		OF. ca. 1100
<i>cāntō</i>	=	<i>cānto</i>	>	<i>chant</i>
<i>cāntās</i>	=	<i>cāntas</i>	>	<i>chant</i> <i>əs</i>
<i>cāntāt</i>	=	<i>cāntat</i>	>	<i>chant</i> <i>et</i>
<i>cāntāmūs</i>	=	<i>cantāmus</i>	>	<i>chant</i> <i>ōns</i>
<i>cāntātīs</i>	=	<i>cantātīs</i>	>	<i>chant</i> <i>ētīs</i> [<i>chantez</i>]
<i>cāntānt</i>	=	<i>cāntant</i>	>	<i>chant</i> <i>ent</i>

Weak, II. a

<i>pārtlō</i>	=	<i>*pārto</i>	>	<i>part</i> (348. 2. b)
<i>pārtīs</i>	=	<i>pārtīs</i>	>	<i>part</i> <i>s</i> [<i>parz</i>]
<i>pārtit</i>	=	<i>pārtit</i>	>	<i>par</i> <i>t</i> (cf. Note)
<i>pārtīmūs</i>	=	<i>partīmus</i>	>	<i>part</i> <i>ōns</i>
<i>pārtītīs</i>	=	<i>partītīs</i>	>	<i>part.</i> <i>ētīs</i>
<i>pārtlūnt</i>	=	<i>*pārtunt</i>	>	<i>part</i> <i>ent</i>

Weak, II. b

<i>fīnō</i>	=	* <i>fīnisco</i>	>	<i>fēn is</i> (81. Note)
<i>fīnīs</i>	=	* <i>fīniscis</i>	>	<i>fēn is</i>
<i>fīnīt</i>	=	* <i>fīniscit</i>	>	<i>fēn ist</i>
<i>fīnimūs</i>	=	* <i>fīniscimus</i>	>	<i>fēn issōns</i> (136)
<i>fīnītīs</i>	=	* <i>fīniscitis</i>	>	<i>fēn issiēts</i>
<i>fīniūt</i>	=	* <i>fīniscunt</i>	>	<i>fēn issēnt</i>

Weak, III
and Strong

<i>rēddō</i>	=	<i>rēndo</i>	>	<i>rent</i> (for the <i>n</i> , cf. 338. 1. III)
<i>rēddīs</i>	=	<i>rēndis</i>	>	<i>rent s</i> [<i>renz</i>]
<i>rēddīt</i>	=	<i>rēndit</i>	>	<i>ren t</i>
<i>rēddimūs</i>	=	<i>rēndimus</i>	>	<i>rend ōns</i>
<i>rēddītīs</i>	=	<i>rēnditis</i>	>	<i>rend ēts</i>
<i>rēddiūt</i>	=	<i>rēndunt</i>	>	<i>rend ēnt</i>

Some 1st singulars of I, or of II. a, developing in accordance with 78. 2, end in *-ē* in OF.: *ēntro* (CL. *intro*) > *entr ē*. Some 2d plurals of I acquired phonologically the ending *-iēz*: for instance, *tractātis* > *trait iēz* (52. 1; and 158. 1). Notice that the VL. 1st plural endings, instead of developing normally, were displaced by a new OF. ending, *-ōns*, by analogy to the normal 1st plural of the much used auxiliary *to be*: (OF. *sōns* < VL. *sōmus* — cf. 185): *cantāmus*, for example, becomes *chantōns*; instead of *chantāins*, as we should expect from 53. 1. In the 2d plural the ending of the first conjugation, *-ēz* (< *ātis* — 52. 1), supplanted the normal endings of the other conjugations: for example, *partītis* > *partēz*; instead of *partiz*, as we should expect from 36. The supplanting analogical ending was *-iēz* if the VL. stem of the affected verb ended in a palatal or palatalized consonant: *fenissiez* possessed *-iez* on account of the *c* in the VL. form.

Note. In the OF. singular of Weak, III, the verb-stem is irregular, the final *d* of the VL. stem having become *t* in the 1st and 2d singular, and having disap-

peared in the 3d singular. This phenomenon, however, is not peculiar to these forms. All VL. verb-stems ending in *d* or *t* lose the *d* or *t* whenever they come in OF. to stand before the ending *-t*, irrespective of conjugation or tense (cf. such sections as 122. 3; and 123). A somewhat similar phenomenon occurs when VL. verb-stems end in *p*, *b*, or *v*; the *p*, *b*, or *v* becomes *f* when it comes in OF. to stand before no flectional ending (106), and disappears before the endings *-s* and *-t* (111): for example, the indicative present of *vivre* (< VL. *vivere*) is *vif*, *vi s*, *vi t*, *viv ons*, etc. VL. stems in *m* or *n* make the following changes: (1) Postvocal *m* or *n*, before a vowel-ending remains intact; before a consonant-ending or when there is no flectional ending, *m* becomes *n*, *n* remains intact (180 and 185): *aimer* (< VL. *amāre*) has present subjunctive *ain*, *ain s*, *ain t*, *aim ons*, etc. (2) Postconsonantal *m* or *n*, before a vowel-ending or no flectional ending generally remains intact (188); before a consonant-ending generally disappears (189): *dormir* (< VL. *dormīre*) has present indicative *dorm*, *dor s*, *dor t*, *dorm ons*, etc. VL. stems ending in a palatal result in various irregularities, too complicated to be presented in any simple formula. All of the foregoing phenomena are so common that it will be impossible for us to explain or even mention them on every occurrence. The student must endeavor to bear constantly in mind the phonological laws which cause the most important, or at least the simplest, of them.

340.

Present Subjunctive

Weak, I

<i>cāntēm</i>	=	<i>cānte</i>	>	<i>chant</i>
<i>cāntēs</i>	=	<i>cāntes</i>	>	<i>chant s</i> [<i>chanz</i>]
<i>cāntēt</i>	=	<i>cāntet</i>	>	<i>chan t</i> (339. Note)
<i>cāntēmūs</i>	=	<i>cantēmus</i>	>	<i>chant ōns</i>
<i>cāntētis</i>	=	<i>cantētis</i>	>	<i>chant ēts</i> [<i>chantez</i>]
<i>cāntēt</i>	=	<i>cāntent</i>	>	<i>chant ėnt</i>

Weak, II. a

<i>pārtlām</i>	=	* <i>pārta</i>	>	<i>part ē</i> (348. 2. b)
<i>pārtlās</i>	=	* <i>pārtas</i>	>	<i>part ēs</i>
<i>pārtlāt</i>	=	* <i>pārtat</i>	>	<i>part ēt</i>
<i>pārtlāmūs</i>	=	* <i>partāmus</i>	>	<i>part ōns</i>
<i>pārtlātis</i>	=	* <i>partātis</i>	>	<i>part ēts</i>
<i>pārtlānt</i>	=	* <i>pārtant</i>	>	<i>part ėnt</i>

Weak, II. b

<i>fīnīām</i>	=	* <i>fīnīisca</i>	>	<i>fēn issē</i> (81. Note)
<i>fīnīās</i>	=	* <i>fīnīscas</i>	>	<i>fēn issēs</i>
<i>fīnīāt</i>	=	* <i>fīnīscat</i>	>	<i>fēn issēt</i>
<i>fīnīāmūs</i>	=	* <i>fīnīscāmus</i>	>	<i>fēn issōns</i>
<i>fīnīātīs</i>	=	* <i>fīnīscātīs</i>	>	<i>fēn issiēts</i>
<i>fīnīānt</i>	=	* <i>fīnīscant</i>	>	<i>fēn issēnt</i>

Weak, III
and Strong

<i>rēddām</i>	=	<i>rēnda</i>	>	<i>rend ē</i>
<i>rēddās</i>	=	<i>rēndas</i>	>	<i>rend ēs</i>
<i>rēddāt</i>	=	<i>rēndat</i>	>	<i>rend ēt</i>
<i>rēddāmūs</i>	=	<i>rēndāmus</i>	>	<i>rend ōns</i>
<i>rēddātīs</i>	=	<i>rēndātīs</i>	>	<i>rend ēts</i>
<i>rēddānt</i>	=	<i>rēndant</i>	>	<i>rend ēnt</i>

Some 1st, 2d, and 3d singulars of Weak, I, developing in accordance with 78, end in -ē, -ēs, and -ēt: *ēntre* (CL. *intrem*) > *entr ē*. Some 2d plurals of Weak, II. a, and of Strong, and all 2d plurals of Weak, II. b, developing by 52. 1, end in -iēz: *dīcātīs* > *dī iēts* [*diez*] (140. 1 and 133. Note 2). All OF. present subjunctive 1st plural endings are analogical, having been adopted in imitation of the corresponding present indicative endings. The second plural ending of Weak, I is -ēts or -iēts (instead of -ēits or -its, as we should expect from 39. 1) from analogy with the corresponding endings of the other conjugations. All of the present subjunctive forms of Weak, II. b are analogical in the development of VL. *sc.*: **fīnīisca* would normally give *fēnistšē* (142. 1); it becomes *fēnišsē* from analogy with the present indicative.

341.

Imperfect Indicative

Weak, I

<i>cāntābām</i>	=	<i>cantāba</i>	>	<i>chant q̄q̄</i>
<i>cāntābās</i>	=	<i>cantābas</i>	>	<i>chant q̄q̄s</i>
<i>cāntābāt</i>	=	<i>cantābat</i>	>	<i>chant q̄t</i>
<i>cāntābāmūs</i>	=	<i>cāntabāmus</i>	>	<i>chant īiēns</i>
<i>cāntābātis</i>	=	<i>cāntabātis</i>	>	<i>chant īiēts [chantiiez]</i>
<i>cāntābānt</i>	=	<i>cantābant</i>	>	<i>chant q̄nt</i>

Weak, II. a

<i>pārtiēbām</i>	=	<i>partēa</i>	>	<i>part ēiē</i>
<i>pārtiēbās</i>	=	<i>partēas</i>	>	<i>part ēiēs</i>
<i>pārtiēbāt</i>	=	<i>partēat</i>	>	<i>part ēit</i>
<i>pārtiēbāmūs</i>	=	<i>pārtēāmus</i>	>	<i>part īiēns</i>
<i>pārtiēbātis</i>	=	<i>pārtēātis</i>	>	<i>part īiēts [partiiez]</i>
<i>pārtiēbānt</i>	=	<i>partēant</i>	>	<i>part ēiēnt</i>

Weak, II. b

<i>fīntēbām</i>	=	<i>*fīniscēa</i>	>	<i>fēn issēiē (136)</i>
<i>fīntēbās</i>	=	<i>*fīniscēas</i>	>	<i>fēn issēiēs</i>
<i>fīntēbāt</i>	=	<i>*fīniscēat</i>	>	<i>fēn issēit</i>
<i>fīntēbāmūs</i>	=	<i>*fīniscēāmus</i>	>	<i>fēn issīiēns</i>
<i>fīntēbātis</i>	=	<i>*fīniscēātis</i>	>	<i>fēn issīiēts [fēnissiez]</i>
<i>fīntēbānt</i>	=	<i>*fīniscēant</i>	>	<i>fēn issēiēnt</i>

Weak, III
and Strong

<i>rēddēbām</i>	=	<i>rēndēa</i>	>	<i>rend ēiē</i>
<i>rēddēbās</i>	=	<i>rēndēas</i>	>	<i>rend ēiēs</i>
<i>rēddēbāt</i>	=	<i>rēndēat</i>	>	<i>rend ēit</i>
<i>rēddēbāmūs</i>	=	<i>rēndēāmus</i>	>	<i>rend īiēns</i>
<i>rēddēbātis</i>	=	<i>rēndēātis</i>	>	<i>rend īiēts [rendiiez]</i>
<i>rēddēbānt</i>	=	<i>rēndēant</i>	>	<i>rend ēiēnt</i>

The development *-āba* > *-pē* etc. is not in accord with 52. 1 and 106 ; but this development, as well as *-ēamus* > *-iēns* and *-ēātis* > *-iēts*, is too complicated for discussion in an elementary grammar. In Weak, I the endings *-iēns* and *-iēz* are clearly from analogy with the other conjugations. The *t* of *-eit*, as well as the absence of *ē* in all the 3d singulars (we should expect *ē* on account of 78. 3), is perhaps from analogy with imperfect subjunctive 3d singulars (124. Note ; and 343). In Weak, II. b, *-issēiē*, etc., instead of *issēiē*, etc. (39. 1), are from analogy with such normal forms as *partēiē*, etc. ; *fīnisc-* > *fēnīss-* (breaking 80. 2) from analogy with such normal forms as *fēnīssons* (339) ; cf. also 81. Note.

342. 1)

Perfect Indicative

Weak, I

<i>cāntāvī</i>	=	<i>cantāi</i>	>	<i>chant āi</i>
<i>cāntāvistī</i>	=	<i>cantāsti</i>	>	<i>chant as</i>
<i>cāntāvit</i>	=	<i>cantāt</i>	>	<i>chant at</i>
<i>cāntāvimūs</i>	=	<i>cantāmus</i>	>	<i>chant āmes</i>
<i>cāntāvistīs</i>	=	<i>cantāstis</i>	>	<i>chant astēs</i>
<i>cāntāvērūt</i>	=	<i>cantārunt</i>	>	<i>chant ērent</i>

Weak, II. a and b

<i>pārtivī</i>	=	<i>partīi</i>	>	<i>part ī</i>
<i>pārtivistī</i>	=	<i>partīsti</i>	>	<i>part īs</i>
<i>pārtivit</i>	=	<i>partīt</i>	>	<i>part īt</i>
<i>pārtivimūs</i>	=	<i>partīmus</i>	>	<i>part īmes</i>
<i>pārtivistīs</i>	=	<i>partīstis</i>	>	<i>part īstēs</i>
<i>pārtivērūt</i>	=	<i>partīrunt</i>	>	<i>part īrent</i>

The development *-at* > *-at*, contrary to the law of 52. 1, cannot be satisfactorily explained. The same may be said of the retention, in the OF. 1st and 2d plurals, of the unstressed vowel of the VL. ending, a proceeding contrary to the laws of 78. Some 3d plurals of

Weak, I, developing by 52. 1, end in *-iērent*: *tractārunt* > *trait iērent* (158. 1). The OF. 2d singulars given above have lost *t* (which should remain—cf. 122. 3) from analogy with the corresponding persons of all other tenses. The *a* in *-āmus* does not become *ái* (as we should expect from 53. 1) but remains unchanged, doubtless by analogy with the vowel of the 2d plural.

2)

Weak, III

<i>rēddīdī</i>	=	<i>rēndēdī</i>	>	<i>rend ī</i> (338. 1)
<i>rēddīdīstī</i>	=	<i>rēndēstī</i>	>	<i>rend īs</i>
<i>rēddīdīt</i>	=	<i>rēndēdīt</i>	>	<i>rend iēt</i>
<i>rēddīdīmūs</i>	=	<i>rēndēdimūs</i>	>	<i>rend īmēs</i>
<i>rēddīdīstīs</i>	=	<i>rēndēstīs</i>	>	<i>rend īstēs</i>
<i>rēddīdērūt</i>	=	<i>rēndēderunt</i>	>	<i>rend iēdrent</i>

The second *d* of the VL. ending *-dēdī* disappeared by a process called 'dissimilation'; then *-ēī* became *-ī* by 50. *-ēstī* became *-īs* by 43 (for the disappearance of *t*, cf. the explanation, given above, of *cantasti* > *cantas*). *-imes* and *-istes* are analogical endings, adopted in imitation of Weak, II.

3)

Strong, I

<i>vīdī</i>	=	<i>vīdī</i>	>	<i>vī</i>
<i>vīdīstī</i>	=	<i>vīdēstī</i>	>	<i>vēd īs</i> (81. Note)
<i>vīdīt</i>	=	<i>vīdīt</i>	>	<i>vī t</i>
<i>vīdīmūs</i>	=	<i>vīdēmus</i>	>	<i>vēd īmēs</i>
<i>vīdīstīs</i>	=	<i>vīdēstīs</i>	>	<i>vēd īstēs</i>
<i>vīdērūt</i>	=	<i>vīderunt</i>	>	<i>vīd rent</i>

Strong, II

<i>mīrī</i>	=	<i>mīrī</i>	>	<i>mī s</i>
<i>mīrīstī</i>	=	<i>mīrēstī</i>	>	<i>mē sīs</i> (81. Note)
<i>mīrīt</i>	=	<i>mīrīt</i>	>	<i>mī st</i>
<i>mīrīmūs</i>	=	<i>mīrēmus</i>	>	<i>mē sīmēs</i>
<i>mīrīstīs</i>	=	<i>mīrēstīs</i>	>	<i>mē sīstēs</i>
<i>mīrērūt</i>	=	<i>mīserunt</i>	>	<i>mī strēt</i>

Strong, III

<i>hăbŭi</i>	=	<i>ăbuî</i>	>	<i>ôï</i>
<i>hăbŭistî</i>	=	<i>abuîstî</i>	>	<i>ô ŭs</i>
<i>hăbŭit</i>	=	<i>ăbuît</i>	>	<i>ôu t</i>
<i>hăbŭimŭs</i>	=	<i>abuîmus</i>	>	<i>ô ŭmŭs</i>
<i>hăbŭistîs</i>	=	<i>abuîstîs</i>	>	<i>ô ŭstŭs</i>
<i>hăbŭērŭnt</i>	=	<i>ăbuērunt</i>	>	<i>ôu rŭnt</i>

Notice the important differences between CL. and VL. stress in the 1st and 3rd plurals ; late VL. had developed these differences for analogical reasons. The OF. endings of Strong, I and II are for the most part normal : for the disappearance of 2d singular *t*, cf. the explanation, given above, of *cantasti* > *cantas* ; the 1st and 2d plural endings are from analogy with Weak, II ; for the stem-vowels, cf. 349. As to Strong, III, we cannot go into detail, owing to the many complex problems involved (chief of which are those mentioned in 206. Note) ; we moreover refrain, merely on account of considerations of space, from giving the five paradigms which this class really demands (404) ; here let it suffice to say that the endings of all these five sub-classes are differentiated from those of Strong, I and II by the presence of *ŭ* and the absence of *s*.

343. Imperfect Subjunctive (cf. 337. 2. c)

Weak, I

<i>căntăvîssēm</i>	=	<i>cantâsse</i>	>	<i>chant assē</i>
<i>căntăvîssēs</i>	=	<i>cantâsses</i>	>	<i>chant assēs</i>
<i>căntăvîssēt</i>	=	<i>cantâsset</i>	>	<i>chant ast</i>
<i>căntăvîssēmŭs</i>	=	<i>cântassêmus</i>	>	<i>chant issŭns</i>
<i>căntăvîssētîs</i>	=	<i>cântassêtîs</i>	>	<i>chant issêtîs [-issēiz]</i>
<i>căntăvîssēnt</i>	=	<i>cantâssent</i>	>	<i>chant assēnt</i>

Weak, II. a and b

<i>pärtivissēm</i>	=	<i>partisse</i>	>	<i>part issē</i>
<i>pärtivissēs</i>	=	<i>partisses</i>	>	<i>part issēs</i>
<i>pärtivissēt</i>	=	<i>partisset</i>	>	<i>part ist</i>
<i>pärtivissēmūs</i>	=	<i>pärtissēmūs</i>	>	<i>part issōns</i>
<i>pärtivissētis</i>	=	<i>pärtissētis</i>	>	<i>part issēits</i>
<i>pärtivissēnt</i>	=	<i>partissent</i>	>	<i>part issēnt</i>

Weak, III

<i>rēddidissēm</i>	=	<i>rēdēsse</i>	>	<i>rend issē</i>
<i>rēddidissēs</i>	=	<i>rēdēssēs</i>	>	<i>rend issēs</i>
<i>rēddidissēt</i>	=	<i>rēdēssēt</i>	>	<i>rend ist</i>
<i>rēddidissēmūs</i>	=	<i>rēdēssēmūs</i>	>	<i>rend issōns</i>
<i>rēddidissētis</i>	=	<i>rēdēssētis</i>	>	<i>rend issēits</i>
<i>rēddidissēnt</i>	=	<i>rēdēssent</i>	>	<i>rend issēnt</i>

Strong, I

<i>vidissēm</i>	=	<i>vidēsse</i>	>	<i>vēd issē</i> (81. Note)
<i>vidissēs</i>	=	<i>vidēssēs</i>	>	<i>vēd issēs</i>
<i>vidissēt</i>	=	<i>vidēssēt</i>	>	<i>vēd ist</i>
<i>vidissēmūs</i>	=	<i>vidēssēmūs</i>	>	<i>vēd issōns</i>
<i>vidissētis</i>	=	<i>vidēssētis</i>	>	<i>vēd issēits</i>
<i>vidissēnt</i>	=	<i>vidēssent</i>	>	<i>vēd issēnt</i>

Strong, II

<i>mīssissēm</i>	=	<i>mīssesse</i>	>	<i>mē sissē</i>
<i>mīssissēs</i>	=	<i>mīssēsēs</i>	>	<i>mē sissēs</i>
<i>mīssissēt</i>	=	<i>mīssēsēt</i>	>	<i>mē sist</i>
<i>mīssissēmūs</i>	=	<i>mīssēsēmūs</i>	>	<i>mē sissōns</i>
<i>mīssissētis</i>	=	<i>mīssēsētis</i>	>	<i>mē sissēits</i>
<i>mīssissēnt</i>	=	<i>mīssēsent</i>	>	<i>mē sissēnt</i>

Strong, III

<i>hăbŭŭssēm</i>	=	<i>abuĕsse</i>	>	<i>q ŭssē</i> (206. Note)
<i>hăbŭŭssēs</i>	=	<i>abuĕsses</i>	>	<i>q ŭssēs</i>
<i>hăbŭŭssēt</i>	=	<i>abuĕsset</i>	>	<i>q ŭst</i>
<i>hăbŭŭssēmŭs</i>	=	<i>abuĕssēmŭs</i>	>	<i>q ŭssōns</i>
<i>hăbŭŭssētŭs</i>	=	<i>abuĕssētŭs</i>	>	<i>q ŭssētŭs</i>
<i>hăbŭŭssēnt</i>	=	<i>abuĕssēnt</i>	>	<i>q ŭssēnt</i>

Notice that all the endings of Weak, III and of Strong, I and II are analogical (we should expect *ē* to become *ĕ* by 41), having been adopted in imitation of Weak, II. The same is true of the endings of Strong, III, except that here the vowel *ū* (characteristic of Strong, III—cf. 342. 3) is substituted for *ī* throughout. As to Weak, I and II: the *ē* of the 1st and 2d singular endings (which has remained intact in violation of 78) is from analogy with the corresponding persons of the present subjunctives of Weak, II and III; *-isson*s and *-isseiz* of Weak, I, are from analogy with Weak, II; and *-isson*s and *-isseiz* of Weak, II, are themselves (except for *-ēiz* < *ētis*) analogical formations (in violation of the laws of 40. 1, and 80. 2), having adopted *-ōns* in imitation of the many other 1st plurals which already possessed it (339), and *-iss-* in imitation of such normal forms as *partisse* and *partisses*.

344. 1)

Infinitive

Weak, I:	<i>căntărĕ</i>	=	<i>cantăre</i>	>	<i>chant ĕr</i>
Weak, II.	$\left. \begin{smallmatrix} a \\ b \end{smallmatrix} \right\} părtĭrĕ$	=	<i>partĭre</i>	>	<i>part ĭr</i>
Weak, III:	<i>rĕddĕrĕ</i>	=	<i>rĕndĕre</i>	>	<i>rend rē</i>

Some infinitives of Weak, I, developing in accordance with 52. 1, end in *-iĕr*: *tractăre* > *trait iĕr* (158. 1). As to Strong infinitives: in VL. they end in *-ăre*, *-ĭre*, *-ĕre*, or *-ĕre* (338. 2); therefore in

OF. they end (irrespective of class) like weak verbs, or, if in VL. the ending is *-ère*, in *-êir* : *abère* (CL. *hăbēre*) > *av êir*. Some VL. infinitives in *-ère*, developing in accordance with 39. 1, come to end in OF. in *-îr* : *placère* > *plais îr* (135).

2) Although VL. infinitives were in general identical with the corresponding CL. infinitives, a few came, toward the end of the VL. period, to differ in ending : for instance, early VL. *săpère* (CL. *săpère*) > late VL. *sapère* > *savêir*.

3) Future and Conditional (cf. 337. 2. b)

Weak, I

cântără +

<i>hăbēō</i>	=	<i>cântaráyo</i>	>	<i>chant grái</i>
<i>hăbēs</i>	=	<i>cântarás</i>	>	<i>chant gras</i>
<i>hăbēt</i>	=	<i>cântarát</i>	>	<i>chant grat</i>
<i>hăbēmūs</i>	=	<i>cântarēmus</i>	>	<i>chant grōns</i>
<i>hăbētīs</i>	=	<i>cântarētīs</i>	>	<i>chant grēīts [-ereiz]</i>
<i>hăbēnt</i>	=	<i>cântarāunt</i>	>	<i>chant grōnt</i>

cântără +

<i>hăbēbām</i>	=	<i>cântarēja</i>	>	<i>chant grēiğ</i>
<i>hăbēbās</i>	=	<i>cântarēas</i>	>	<i>chant grēiğs</i>
<i>hăbēbāt</i>	=	<i>cântarēat</i>	>	<i>chant grēit</i>
<i>hăbēbāmūs</i>	=	<i>cântarēāmus</i>	>	<i>chant grīiēns</i>
<i>hăbēbātīs</i>	=	<i>cântarēātīs</i>	>	<i>chant grīiēts [-eriez]</i>
<i>hăbēbānt</i>	=	<i>cântarēant</i>	>	<i>chant grēiğnt</i>

Weak, II. a and b

pärtirē +

<i>hăbēō</i>	=	<i>pärtiráyō</i>	>	<i>part irái</i>	<i>hăbēbām</i>	=	<i>pärtirēja</i>	>	<i>part irēiğ</i>
etc.		etc.		etc.	etc.		etc.		etc.

pärtirē +

Weak, III and Strong

<i>rëddërë</i> +		<i>rëddërë</i> +
<i>hăbëō</i> = <i>rënderáyo</i>	$>$	<i>hăbëām</i> = <i>rënderëa</i>
etc.	etc.	etc.
	<i>rend rái</i>	$>$ <i>rend rêiç</i>
	etc.	etc.

Notice the change of stress made by VL. infinitives in *-äre* and *-ïre*. The above compounds of Weak, I developed in accordance with 80 ; those of Weak, II retained post-secondary-stress *ï* in violation of 80, probably from analogy with the many forms of Weak, II where the *ï* was normally retained. The retention of *a* in the endings of the future 2d and 3d singulars (we should expect *ë* by 52. 1) is from analogy with *as* and *ať* of the verb *aveir* ; these forms of *aveir*, being auxiliaries, and so having very little stress, developed like pretonic syllables (cf. the third paragraph of 10–11 ; and 87). *-ons* is from analogy with the other 1st plurals which already possessed that ending (339). For the explanation of the conditional endings, cf. that of the imperfect indicative endings of Weak, II (341).

345. Present Participle

Weak, I :	<i>căntăntēm</i> = <i>cantānte</i>	$>$ <i>chant ānt</i>
Weak, II. a :	<i>părtiëntēm</i> = <i>*partēnte</i>	$>$ <i>part ānt</i> (348. 2. b)
Weak, II. b :	<i>fīnīëntēm</i> = <i>*fīniscēnte</i>	$>$ <i>fēn īssānt</i> (136)
Weak, III Strong	} <i>rëddëntēm</i> = <i>rëndēnte</i>	$>$ <i>rend ānt</i>

Only in Weak, I, is the OF. present participle ending normal ; in the other conjugations it has been adopted in imitation of Weak, I. For the explanation of *fēnīss-* in Weak, II. b, cf. the last sentence of 341. Present participles are inflected according to the paradigm of 303. II.

346.

Past Participle

Weak, I: *cāntātūm* = *cantātu* > *chant ēī*

Weak, II. $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{a} \\ \text{b} \end{array} \right\} \textit{pārtitūm} = \textit{partītu} > \textit{part īī}$

Weak, III: *rēddītūm* = *rendūtu* > *rend üt*

Some past participles of Weak, I ended in *-iēt* (52. 1). Notice that in Weak, III, late VL. adopted participles in *-ūtu*, from analogy with those verbs which had always had such participles. As to **Strong** verbs, the endings in VL. (in general identical with those of the corresponding CL. past participles) were varied, and, developing normally, gave varied OF. results: for example, *fāctu* (CL. *fāctum*) > *fāit*; *ārsu* (CL. *ārsūm*) > *ars*. But in late VL. some strong past participles underwent the same analogical influence noted above for Weak, III: late VL. *dēbūtu* (CL. *dēbītum*) > *dē üt*. Past participles are inflected in accordance with the paradigm of 303. I. a.

STEMS

347. The development of Vulgar Latin stems was usually normal. At the same time, analogy played a great part. Especially important are the processes by which stem-differences within one and the same verb, whether existent in Vulgar Latin, or arising later in consequence of phonological development, were effaced by the adoption of one form as sole verb-stem.

348. We will first discuss the present stem—upon which were usually formed the present indicative, the present subjunctive, the present participle, the imperfect indicative, the imperative, the perfect indicative (of weak verbs), and the imperfect subjunctive (of weak verbs).

1) A VL. stem-vowel often developed differently according as it was or was not stressed. For example, *lāvas* > *lēves* (52. 1), but *lavātis* > *lavez* (87); *āmas* > *āimes* (53. 1), but *amātis* > *amez* (87). But toward the end of the first OF. period such differences

began to be effaced by the influence of analogy. And since there were only nine stem-stressed forms (the 1st, 2d, 3d singular and 3d plural of the present indicative and present subjunctive, and the 2d singular of the imperative), and a much greater number of ending-stressed forms, the vowel of the latter forms was almost always adopted for the stressed syllables of the former: for example, *laf*, *laves*, *lavet*, *lavent*, etc., instead of normal *lēf*, *lēves*, *lēvet*, *lēvent*, etc. The verb *aimer*, on the contrary, began to make universal the vowel of the stem-stressed forms, and ca. 1100 we frequently find forms like *áimez* instead of normal *amez*.

2) Many VL. verbs contained an *i* between stem and ending in certain of their forms (the corresponding CL. verbs have sometimes *ɨ*, sometimes *ě*—cf. the last paragraph of 16–20): for example, VL. *faciō*, *taciō* (CL. *facto*, *tacēo*). This is called the ‘derivative vowel.’

a) In a great many verbs this derivative vowel developed normally: *faciō* > *fats* [*faz*] (198).

b) In other verbs the derivative vowel disappeared without leaving any trace, from analogy with the forms of the verb which contained no derivative vowel; this disappearance took place, in most cases, during the VL. period: VL. **parto* (CL. *partio*) > OF. *part* (*partiō* would have given *parz* by 195).

3) Differences in stress, or differences in the vowels of endings, often caused a VL. stem to develop differently in regard to its final consonant. For example, *dóbitas* > *dutes* (122. 2. b), but *dobitátis* > *dudez* (122. 2. c); *pasco* > *páis* (146), but *pascat* > *pastšet* [*paschet*] (142. 1). Many (but by no means all—cf. 339. Note) such resultant differences were effaced early in the first OF. period by universalizing one or the other result. No manuscript contains the form *dudez*; by the time writing of Old French became common, the analogical form *dutez* had taken its place. Likewise the analogical present subjunctive *paisset* early appears beside the normal form *paschet*, and eventually causes the entire disappearance of the latter.

4) A few verbs show very great irregularities in the develop-

ment of the present stem, due to various causes. For example, VL. *abŕo* (CL. *habĕo*) would normally have become OF. *adže* (191); instead, the OF. form is *ái*, and we may therefore infer an intermediate VL. form **ayo* (with irregular disappearance of the labial, probably due to the fact that the word was so very frequently used with very little stress—a phenomenon of syntactic phonology, cf. the third paragraph of 10–11), which became *ái* (151).

349. The stems of the VL. strong perfects and imperfect subjunctives usually developed normally, with the result that in OF. they often showed within themselves differences of stem-vowels. For example, *mĭsi* > *mĭs* (36), but *mĭsĕstĭ* (CL. *mĭsĭstĭ*) > *mĕsĭs* (43; 81. Note). We find, however, many irregularities in the development of VL. strong perfects and imperfect subjunctives, due for the most part to the influence of analogy. For example, VL. **prĕsit* (CL. *prĕhĕndĭt*) > *prĭst*, instead of *prĕist*, as we should expect from 39. 1; this irregularity is probably due to the analogy of the form *prĭs* (< **prĕsĭ*) where the *ĭ* is normal (43).

350. Although most strong past participle stems developed normally, many underwent analogical influences. OF. *dĭt*, for example, cannot have come directly from VL. *dĕctu* (CL. *dĭctum*), which would have given *dĕĭt* by 44. Probably *dĕctu* did give *dĕĭt*, and *dĕĭt* was then changed to *dĭt* from analogy with the perfect *dĭs* (< *dĭxi*), where the *ĭ* was normal (38); and also, perhaps, from analogy with the past participle *escriĭt* (< *escriptu*).

Conjugation during the Second Old French Period

The following paradigms present the forms of ca. 1100. Each paradigm is followed by a statement of analogical changes during the second period. For the sake of simplicity we shall mention normal changes only when there seems to be some especial reason for so doing; be it constantly borne in mind, how-

ever, that all the paradigms develop in accordance with the laws of 207-282, unless the contrary is stated. For the sake of simplicity, again, we shall avoid further mention of the processes described in 348, although some of them did not reach completion until well into the second period.

Weak, I

351. Cf. 338. 1. During the second period Weak, I was considerably augmented by OF. verbs which did not come from VL. verbs, but were formed anew by processes of word-formation (cf. 12. Note): for example, OF. *fester* was formed by adding the infinitive ending *-er* to the stem of the OF. word *feste* (< VL. *festā*), there having been, probably, no VL. verb *festare*.

352.

Present Indicative

<i>chant</i>	<i>entr ç</i>	<i>trait</i>
<i>chant çs</i>	<i>entr çs</i>	<i>trait çs</i>
<i>chant çt</i>	<i>entr çt</i>	<i>trait çt</i>
<i>chant çns</i>	<i>entr çns</i>	<i>trait çns</i>
<i>chant çz</i>	<i>entr çz</i>	<i>trait iëz</i>
<i>chant çnt</i>	<i>entr çnt</i>	<i>trait çnt</i>

Cf. 339. During the second period 1st singulars like *chant* and *trait* more and more frequently added *ç* because of the presence of that letter in both the 2d and 3d singular, and also from analogy with forms like *entrç*. The occasional 2d plurals in *-iez* were soon supplanted by forms in *-ez*, from analogy with the much greater number of verbs with 2d plural in *-ez*.

353.

Present Subjunctive

<i>chant</i>	<i>entr ç</i>	<i>trait</i>
<i>chant s</i> [<i>chanz</i>]	<i>entr çs</i>	<i>trait s</i>
<i>chan t</i>	<i>entr çt</i>	<i>trait t</i>

<i>chant</i> õns	<i>entr</i> õns	<i>trait</i> õns
<i>chant</i> ēz	<i>entr</i> ēz	<i>trait</i> iēz
<i>chant</i> ġnt	<i>entr</i> ġnt	<i>trait</i> ġnt

Cf. 340. During the second period the endings -ē, -ēs, -ēt of the type *entre* were adopted for all verbs, in which change the analogy of the present subjunctive endings of the other conjugations also played a part. The 1st plural ending, influenced by a present subjunctive 1st plural ending -iēns peculiar to some of the OF. dialects, became -ions (pronounced -iōns—cf. 254 and 277) toward the end of the second period. By that time -ēz had become -iēz from analogy with the 1st plural.

354.

Imperfect Indicative

<i>chant</i> oğ
<i>chant</i> oğs
<i>chant</i> ot
<i>chant</i> iñēns
<i>chant</i> iñēts [<i>chantiez</i>]
<i>chant</i> oğnt

Cf. 341. During the twelfth century the imperfects of Weak, I adopted throughout the endings of Weak, II. For subsequent development, cf. 365.

355.

Perfect Indicative

<i>chant</i> ái	<i>trait</i> ái
<i>chant</i> as	<i>trait</i> as
<i>chant</i> at	<i>trait</i> at
<i>chant</i> āmēs	<i>trait</i> āmēs
<i>chant</i> astēs	<i>trait</i> astēs
<i>chant</i> ērēnt	<i>trait</i> iērēnt

Cf. 342. 1. During the second period the 1st plural inserted an *s* (-*asmes*) from analogy with the 2d plural; this change, however, was probably purely orthographical—cf. 129 and 280; -*ierent* was soon replaced by -*erent*; cf. the last sentence of 352.

356.

Imperfect Subjunctive

chant asse
chant assees
chant ast
chant issōns
chant issēiz
chant assent

Cf. 343. Toward the end of the second period *-issons* and *-isseiz* are supplanted by *-issions* and *-issiez* from analogy with the present subjunctive (353).

357.

Future and Conditional

<i>chant grāi</i>	<i>chant grēiē</i>
<i>chant gras</i>	<i>chant grēiēs</i>
<i>chant grai</i>	<i>chant grēit</i>
<i>chant grōns</i>	<i>chant grēiēns</i>
<i>chant grēiz</i>	<i>chant grēiēts [chanteriez]</i>
<i>chant grōnt</i>	<i>chant grēiēnt</i>

Cf. 337. 2. b ; and 344. 3. Toward the very end of the second period *-eiz* begins to yield to *-ez* (from earlier *-ēz*—cf. 211), from analogy with the present indicative 2d plural ending. For the subsequent development of the conditional endings, which are identical with the imperfect endings of Weak, II, cf. 365.

358. Imperative : *chant ē* (< VL. *cānta*)

chant ōns (< *cantāmus* ; an analogical development—cf. 339)

chant ēz (< *cantātis*)

Cf. 337. 2. d.

359. Infinitive : *chant ēr* ; *trait iēr*.

Cf. 344. 1. *-ier* was soon replaced by *-er* ; cf. the last sentence of 352.

360. Present Participle : *chant ānt*.

Past Participle : *chant ēt* ; *trait iēt*.

Cf. 345 and 346. *-iet* was soon replaced by *-et* ; cf. the last sentence of 352.

Irregular Verbs of Weak, I

361. Several verbs, although they possess the general characteristics of Weak, I, are in some forms irregular. For example, the first singular of the present indicative of *aler* is *vôis*. Evidently this form does not come from the same VL. stem as does the infinitive—it comes from *vado*. Furthermore, its development from *vado* is very irregular. The latter would have given normally *vēt* (52. 1 ; 78. 2 ; and 116) : we must suppose, first, that the *d* of *vado* became silent extremely early because of the frequent use of the word (a phenomenon of syntactic phonology—cf. the third paragraph of 10–11) ; secondly, that *vao* was contracted to *və* for the same reason ; thirdly, that *-is* was added from analogy with a few very common verbs like OF. *nâis* (< VL. *nasco*) where the *-is* was normal (146).

We shall adopt the following method of presenting the Old French irregular verbs.

We shall present only the most irregular (431). From 339. Note, and 347–350, it may be inferred that an exceedingly great number of OF. verbs were irregular—many more than in modern French, where countless irregularities have been effaced by analogical processes ; far too many to be given in a grammar of this scope. Of these ‘most irregular’ verbs we shall give the forms current ca. 1100. We shall not attempt to explain the irregularities. Such explanations may be found in the corresponding sections of the *Schwan-Behrens* ; as the above discussion of *vois* shows, they are out of place in an elementary grammar. Nor shall we discuss, except in case of especial need, development during the second period ; be it constantly borne in mind, however, that the irregular verbs not only developed in accordance with the laws of 207–282, but also shared in the analogical changes which affected regular verbs. We shall give the five principal parts of the verb in question. From these principal parts all regular forms of the verb may then be inferred : from the infinitive stem may be inferred the future and conditional, by adding the future and conditional endings ; from the present participle stem may be inferred

the imperfect indicative, the present subjunctive, and the first and second plural of the present indicative, by adding the appropriate endings; from the past participle may be inferred the compound tenses, by prefixing the auxiliary *avoir* or *estre*, and the passive tenses, by prefixing the auxiliary *estre*; from the present indicative first singular stem may be inferred the second and third singular and third plural of that tense, and the three persons of the imperative are normally identical in form with the first singular, the first plural, and the second plural of the present indicative, excepting that in the first conjugation the second singular imperative adds *-e* to the present indicative first singular stem; from the perfect first singular stem may be inferred the remainder of that tense, and the imperfect subjunctive. The following table may make the foregoing more clear:

Infinitive	Present Participle	Past Participle	Present Indicative	Perfect Indicative
<i>chant er</i>	<i>chant ant</i>	<i>chant et</i>	<i>chant</i>	<i>chant ai</i>
↓	↓		↓	↓
Future	Imperfect Indicative		<i>chant es</i>	<i>chant as</i>
<i>chant erai</i>	<i>chant oe</i>		<i>chant et</i>	<i>chant at</i>
<i>chant eras</i>	<i>chant oes</i>		<i>chant ons</i>	<i>chant ames</i>
<i>chant erat</i>	<i>chant ot</i>		<i>chant ez</i>	<i>chant astes</i>
<i>chant erons</i>	<i>chant iens</i>		<i>chant ent</i>	<i>chant erent</i>
<i>chant ereiz</i>	<i>chant iiez</i>			↓
<i>chant eront</i>	<i>chant oent</i>		Imperative	Imperfect Subjunctive
↓	↓		<i>chant e</i>	<i>chant asse</i>
Conditional	Present Subjunctive		<i>chant ons</i>	<i>chant asses</i>
<i>chant ereie</i>	<i>chant</i>		<i>chant ez</i>	<i>chant ast</i>
<i>chant ereies</i>	<i>chant s [chanz]</i>			<i>chant issons</i>
<i>chant ereit</i>	<i>chan t (339. Note)</i>			<i>chant isseiz</i>
<i>chant eriens</i>	<i>chant ons</i>			<i>chant assent</i>
<i>chant eriez</i>	<i>chant ez</i>			
<i>chant ereient</i>	<i>chant ent</i>			

Adopting the arrangement of the above table, we shall give all uninferable—that is, all irregular—forms of a verb in their places in it, letting blank places imply regular forms. We shall never give the conditional, for its stem is invariably identical with the future stem. When a verb forms its compound tenses with the auxiliary *estre*, we shall give the first singular of the past indefinite immediately under the past participle; when with *aveir*, we shall leave that space blank (it should be noted, however, that those OF. verbs which usually take *estre* are sometimes found with *aveir*). Often a tense is irregular in regard to the stem from which we expect to infer it, but within itself regular—in other terms, all of its forms have exactly the same irregular stem: of such tenses only the 1st singular will be given.

It should be constantly borne in mind that the various tenses are merely inferred, not in any sense derived, from the principal parts. The above table is intended merely as an aid to the memory; its arrangement has nothing whatever to do with the laws governing verb development.

In the irregular verb paradigms, phonetic symbols and diacritic marks are used only when their omission might involve the student in difficulty. Cf. the remark immediately preceding 337. If the stem-vowel of the infinitive recurs in other forms of the verb, it is phonetically transcribed only in the infinitive: for example, in the verb *doner*, the *o* is written *ō* only in the infinitive, though it is to be pronounced *ō* (of course only when followed immediately by *n*) throughout the verb. If several forms of a tense contain the same difficult sound, it is phonetically transcribed only in the first singular: for example, in the present subjunctive of *aler*, *oi* is written *fi* only in the first singular, though it is to be pronounced *fi* throughout that tense. *d* and *t* are invariably distinguished from *đ* and *ť*.

1) aler (origin unknown)	<i>alant</i>	<i>alet</i>	<i>v̄is</i> <i>v̄ais</i> <i>vas</i> <i>vait</i> <i>va</i> <i>alons</i> <i>alez</i> <i>v̄ont</i>	<i>alai</i>
<i>īrai</i>	{ <i>v̄ise</i> <i>aille</i> (pronounced <i>voises</i> <i>ailles</i> <i>al̄e</i> —200) <i>voiset̄</i> <i>voist̄</i> <i>aillet̄</i> <i>voisons</i> <i>aillons</i> <i>voises</i> <i>ailliez</i> <i>voisent</i> <i>aillent</i>		<i>va</i> <i>vas</i> <i>alons</i> <i>alez</i>	
2) dōner (< <i>dōnāre</i>)	<i>donant</i>	<i>donēt̄</i>	<i>d̄ōins</i> <i>donēs</i> <i>donēt̄</i> <i>donons</i> <i>donez</i> <i>donent</i>	<i>donai</i>
<i>donerai</i> or <i>donrai</i> or <i>dōrrai</i>	<i>d̄ōinse</i> <i>doinses</i> <i>doinst̄</i> <i>doinsons</i> <i>doinsez</i> <i>doinsent</i>		<i>done</i>	
3) pruver (< <i>prōbare</i>) [<i>pruver</i> , <i>prover</i> , and <i>prouver</i> —91]	<i>pruvant</i> <i>prūisse</i>	<i>pruvel̄</i>	<i>prūis</i> <i>pruēves</i> <i>pruevel̄</i> <i>pruvons</i> <i>pruvez</i> <i>pruevent</i>	<i>pruvai</i>
			<i>prueve</i>	

Exactly like *pruver* are inflected *ruver* and *truver*

Weak, II. a

362. Cf. 338. 1. Weak, II. a, unlike Weak, I (351), was not augmented during the second period. On the contrary, during the second period many verbs originally in II. a, adopted the endings of II. b.

363.

Present Indicative

<i>part</i>	<i>cuêvr</i> ξ (<VL. *cōpero = CL. cōpērō; cf. 348. 1)
<i>part s</i> [<i>parz</i>]	<i>cuêvr</i> ξs
<i>par t</i>	<i>cuêvr</i> ξt
<i>part õns</i>	<i>cuvr</i> $\tilde{\eta}ns$
<i>part êts</i> [<i>partez</i>]	<i>cuvr</i> $\tilde{\eta}ts$ [<i>cuvrez</i>]
<i>part ent</i>	<i>cuêvr</i> ξnt

Cf. 339. During the second period the type *cuevre* did not influence the type *part* (352): *part*, *parz*, *part* remain without ξ . Verbs of the type *part* add during the thirteenth century an -s to the 1st singular (*part s* [*parz*]) from analogy with the corresponding form of II. b (373). The occasional 2d plurals in -iez were soon supplanted by forms in -ez—cf. 352.

364.

Present Subjunctive

<i>part</i> ξ
<i>part</i> ξs
<i>part</i> ξt
<i>part</i> $\tilde{\eta}ns$
<i>part</i> $\tilde{\eta}ts$ [<i>partez</i>]
<i>part</i> ξnt

Cf. 340. During the second period -ions and -iez are adopted (353).

365.

Imperfect Indicative

<i>part</i> $\xi i\xi$
<i>part</i> $\xi i\xi s$
<i>part</i> ξit
<i>part</i> $\tilde{\eta}i\acute{e}ns$
<i>part</i> $\tilde{\eta}i\acute{e}ts$ [<i>partiiiez</i>]
<i>part</i> $\xi i\acute{e}nt$

Cf. 341. The dissyllabic endings *-i-ens* and *-i-iez* soon became monosyllabic *-iēns* and *-iēz*; then for the former was substituted *-iēns*, by analogy with the ending of the 1st plural present subjunctive (353).

366.

Perfect Indicative

part i
part ia
part it
part imes
part istes
part irēt

Cf. 342. 1. *-ismes* was adopted during the second period (355). Toward the end of the period the 1st singular added *-s* from analogy with Strong, II (386).

367.

Imperfect Subjunctive

part issē
part issēs
part ist
part issōns
part issēits [*partisseiz*]
part issēnt

Cf. 343. *-issions* and *-issiez* are adopted during the second period (356).

368.

Future and Conditional

<i>part irāi</i>	<i>part irēiē</i>
<i>part iras</i>	<i>part irēiēs</i>
<i>part irat</i>	<i>part irēit</i>
<i>part irōns</i>	<i>part iriēns</i>
<i>part irēis</i>	<i>part iriēits</i> [<i>partiriez</i>]
<i>part irōnt</i>	<i>part irēiēnt</i>

Cf. 337. 2. b; and 344. 3. For the subsequent development of these endings, cf. 357.

369.

Imperative

<i>part</i>	<i>cuêvr</i> <i>ç</i> (< VL. * <i>côperi</i> —cf. 348. 1)
<i>part ôns</i>	<i>cuvr</i> <i>ôns</i>
<i>part êz</i>	<i>cuvr</i> <i>êz</i>

Cf. 337. 2. d. The plural endings have been explained in 339. Verbs of the type *part* add, in the thirteenth century, an -s to the 2d singular (*part s* [*parz*]) from analogy with the corresponding form of II. b (373).

370. Infinitive: *part ir*. Cf. 344. 1.

371. Present Participle: *part ânt*. Cf. 345.

Past Participle: *part it*. Cf. 346.

371½.

Irregular Verbs of Weak, II. a

1) <i>bulir</i> (< <i>bollîre</i>)	<i>bulant</i>	<i>bulî</i>	<i>bul'</i> [<i>buil</i>]	<i>buli</i>
[<i>bulir</i> , <i>bolir</i> , and <i>boulir</i> —91]			<i>buls</i>	
			<i>bult</i>	Imperative
	<i>bul'e</i> [<i>buille</i>]		<i>bulons</i>	<i>bul</i>
			<i>bulez</i>	
<i>buldrai</i>			<i>bul'ent</i> [<i>buillent</i>]	
2) <i>coillir</i> (< * <i>côllegîre</i>)	<i>coillant</i>	<i>coillî</i>	<i>cuêl'</i> [<i>cueil</i>]	<i>coilli</i>
(pronounced <i>côlîr</i>)			<i>cuelz</i>	
			<i>cuel't</i>	
	<i>cuêl'e</i> [<i>cueille</i>]		<i>côl'ons</i> [<i>coillons</i>]	
<i>coldrai</i> [<i>coidrai</i>]			<i>côl'iez</i> (339)	
			<i>cuel'ent</i> [<i>cueillent</i>]	
3) <i>cuvrir</i> (< * <i>côperîre</i>)	<i>cuvrant</i>	<i>cuvrî</i>	<i>cuêvre</i>	<i>cuvri</i>
[<i>cuvrir</i> , <i>covrir</i> , and <i>couvrir</i> —91]				
	<i>cuêvre</i>			
	<i>cuevres</i>			
<i>cuvrêrai</i>	<i>cuevret</i>			
	<i>cuvrons</i>			
	<i>cuvrez</i>			
	<i>cuevrent</i>			

Like *cuvrir* is inflected *sufrire*, excepting that the stem *sufri-* is invariable.

4) <i>éissir</i> (< <i>exire</i>)	<i>eissant</i>	<i>eissüt</i>	<i>is</i>	<i>eissi</i>
			<i>is</i>	
			<i>ist</i>	
<i>eistrai</i>		<i>sui eissüt</i>	<i>eissons</i>	
			<i>eissiez</i> (339)	
			<i>issent</i>	

As infinitive we find also *eistre*. Throughout the verb *éi* may be replaced by *i*: *issir*, etc.

5) <i>falir</i> (< <i>*fallire</i>)	<i>falant</i>	<i>falit</i>	<i>faʔ</i> [<i>fail</i>]	<i>fali</i>
			<i>fárus</i>	
			<i>fáut</i>	Imperative
<i>fáudrai</i> (174)	<i>faʔe</i> [<i>faill</i>]		<i>falons</i>	<i>fal</i>
			<i>falez</i>	
			<i>faʔent</i>	

Exactly like *falir* is inflected *salir*.

6) <i>ferir</i> (< <i>ferire</i>)	<i>ferant</i>	<i>ferit</i>	<i>fiér</i>	<i>feri</i>
<i>ferrai</i>	<i>fiére</i>			
	<i>fieres</i>			
	<i>fieret</i>			
	<i>ferons</i>			
	<i>feres</i>			
	<i>fierent</i>			

7) <i>hadir</i> (< <i>*hatire</i>)	<i>hadant</i>	<i>hadit</i>	<i>háis</i>	<i>hadi</i>
			<i>hēs</i>	
			<i>hēt</i>	
<i>hadrai</i>	<i>hatse</i> [<i>hace</i>]		<i>hadons</i>	
			<i>hades</i>	
			<i>hēdent</i>	
			<i>hēt</i>	

8) <i>odir</i> (< <i>audīre</i>)	<i>odant</i>	<i>odit</i>	<i>ōi</i> <i>oz</i> <i>ot</i> <i>odons</i> <i>odez</i> <i>odent</i>	<i>odi</i>
<i>odrai</i>	<i>ōiyē</i> [<i>oie</i> —151] <i>ōiyēs</i> <i>ōiyēt</i> <i>ōiyōns</i> [<i>oiions</i>] <i>ōiyiēs</i> (340) <i>ōiyēnt</i>		<i>oz</i>	
9) <i>ofrir</i> (< <i>*ōfferīre</i>)	<i>ofrant</i>	<i>ofert</i>	<i>ofre</i>	<i>ofri</i>
<i>ofrērai</i>				
10) <i>vestir</i> (< <i>vestīre</i>)	<i>vestant</i>	<i>vestūt</i>	<i>vest</i>	<i>vesti</i>

Weak, II. b

372. Cf. 338. 1. This class was during the second period augmented by processes similar to those which augmented Weak, I (cf. 351); and by the transference into it of several verbs which during the first period had belonged to II. a.

373. The following tenses differ from II. a :

Pres. Ind.	<i>fen is</i> <i>fen is</i> <i>fen ist</i> <i>fen issōns</i> <i>fen issiēz</i> <i>fen issēnt</i>	Pres. Subj.	<i>fen issē</i> <i>fen issēs</i> <i>fen issēt</i> <i>fen issōns</i> <i>fen issiēz</i> <i>fen issēnt</i>
Imperf. Ind.	<i>fen issēiē</i> <i>fen issēiēs</i> <i>fen issēit</i> <i>fen issiēns</i> <i>fen issiēts</i> [-iēz] <i>fen issēiēnt</i>	Pres. Part.	<i>fen issānt</i>
		Imperative	<i>fen is</i> (< VL. <i>*finīsce</i>) <i>fen issōns</i> <i>fen issiēz</i> } (analogical developments —cf. 339)

Cf. 339 : 340 ; 341 ; 345 ; and 337. 2. d. The subsequent development of the endings is the same as that of the corresponding endings of II. a.

373½. Irregular Verb of Weak, II. b

guarir (<*gwarĩre)
(pronounced *garir*)
guarrai

Weak. III (338. 1)

374. Present Indicative Present Subjunctive

<i>rent</i>	<i>rend</i> ɛ
<i>rent</i> s[renz]	<i>rend</i> ɛs
<i>ren</i> t	<i>rend</i> ɛt
<i>rend</i> ɔ̃ns	<i>rend</i> ɔ̃ns
<i>rend</i> ɛ̃ts[rendez]	<i>rend</i> ɛ̃ts[rendez]
<i>rend</i> ɛnt	<i>rend</i> ɛnt

Cf. 339 and 340. The subsequent development was identical with that of verbs of II. a—cf. 363 and 364.

375. Imperfect Indicative

rend ệi
rend ệi
rend ệi
rend ệi
rend ệi
rend ệi

Cf. 341. For subsequent development, cf. 365.

376. Perfect Indicative

rend i
rend is
rend iet
rend imes
rend istes
rend iédrent

Cf. 342. 2. During the thirteenth century the 3d singular and the 3d plural adopted the endings of II. a, and the subsequent development of all the endings was the same as for verbs of II. a (366).

377. Imperfect Subjunctive

rend issę
rend issęs
rend ęt
rend issęns
rend issęits [*rendisseiz*]
rend issęnt

Cf. 343. For subsequent development, cf. 367.

378. Future and Conditional

<i>rend rái</i>	<i>rend réię</i>
<i>rend ras</i>	<i>rend réięs</i>
<i>rend raę</i>	<i>rend ręit</i>
<i>rend ręns</i>	<i>rend rięns</i>
<i>rend réis</i>	<i>rend rięits</i> [<i>rendriiez</i>]
<i>rend ręnt</i>	<i>rend réięnt</i>

Cf. 337. 2. b ; and 344. 3. For subsequent development, cf. 357.

379. Imperative : *rent* (< VL. *řęnde*)

<i>rend ęns</i>	} analogical developments—cf. 339.
<i>rend ęz</i>	

Cf. 337. 2. d. For subsequent development, cf. 369.

380. Infinitive : *rend rę*. Cf. 344. 1.

381. Present Participle : *rend ānt*. Cf. 345.

Past Participle : *rend üt*. Cf. 346.

381½. Irregular Verbs of Weak, III

1) <i>naistre</i> (< * <i>nāscere</i>)	<i>naissant</i> (136)	<i>nēt</i>	<i>nais</i>	<i>nasqui</i>
		and	<i>nais</i>	(pronounced
		<i>nascūt</i>	<i>naist</i>	<i>naski</i>)
			<i>naissons</i>	<i>nasquīs</i>
			<i>naissiez</i>	<i>nasquīt</i>
		<i>sui nēt</i>	(339)	<i>nasquīmēs</i>
2) <i>veintre</i> (< <i>vēncere</i>)	<i>veinant</i>	<i>veincūt</i>	<i>veinc</i>	<i>veinqui</i>
			<i>veins</i>	(The re-
			<i>veint</i>	mainder
			<i>veinquons</i>	of the
			<i>veinquiez</i>	tense
			(339)	like
3) <i>vivre</i> (< <i>vīvere</i>)	<i>vivant</i>	<i>vescūt</i>	<i>vif</i>	<i>vesqui</i>
			(339.	(The re-
			Note)	mainder
				of the tense
				like <i>nasqui</i>)

Strong Verbs

382. The strong verbs are all irregular verbs: some are so inasmuch as they depart, in their non-perfect-stem tenses, from the paradigms of Weak, III (cf. the last sentence of 338); others, inasmuch as they depart, in their perfects, from the paradigms of 382, 386, and 404; still others are irregular in both respects; and the few which are irregular in neither of these respects are nevertheless usually considered as irregular verbs because of their past participles, for so varied are strong past participles (cf. 346 and 350) that it is impossible to fix upon a satisfactory norm for them. We shall present the strong verbs, then, in the manner explained in 361. We shall

not need to give every strong verb, as quite often one is the model for several others. In order to find by which model a strong verb is inflected, the reference list of irregular verbs (431) may be consulted.

Since the strong verbs fall naturally into three classes, not only because of differences of VL. provenience, but also because of differences in the resultant OF. forms (cf. 338. 2), we shall present them in three lists. Before each list we shall give paradigms (of ca. 1100) for the perfect indicative and the imperfect subjunctive of the class in question.

Strong, I

Perfect Indicative

vi
ved is
vi t
ved imes
ved istes
vid rent

Cf. 338. 2 ; 342. 3 ; 349. Before the end of the second period the 1st singular added *-s* from analogy with the corresponding form of Strong, II (386), thereby becoming *vis* (274). *-imes* becomes *-imes* (355). Remember what is said in the remark immediately preceding 351 in regard to second period phonological development: *vedis*, for example, becomes *vis* by 271 and 273.

383. Imperfect Subjunctive

ved issē
ved issēs
ved ist
ved issōne
ved issēiz
ved issēnt

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Cf. 343. During the second period these endings developed in the same manner as the like endings explained in 367.

384. Strong, I consists of only three verbs : *vedeir* ; *venir* ; and *tenir* (< VL. **tēnīre* = CL. *tēnēre*), which is conjugated exactly like *venir*, excepting that its past indefinite is *ai tēnūt*.

vedeir (< <i>vedēre</i>)	<i>vedant</i>	<i>vedūt</i>	<i>vēi</i> <i>veiz</i> <i>veit</i>	<i>vī</i>
	<i>veie</i> (pronounced <i>vēiye</i> —151)		<i>vedons</i> <i>vedez</i> <i>veident</i>	<i>vedisse</i>
			<i>veit</i> <i>vedons</i> <i>vedez</i>	

385.

venir (< <i>venīre</i>)	<i>venant</i>	<i>venūt</i> <i>sui venūt</i>	<i>vīn</i> [<i>ving</i>] <i>viēns</i> <i>vient</i>	<i>vīn</i> <i>venis</i> <i>vīnt</i>
<i>vāndrai</i> [<i>vendrai</i>]	<i>viēne</i> [<i>veigne</i> —203] <i>viehes</i> <i>viehet</i> <i>vēhōns</i> [<i>veignons</i>] <i>vēhiez</i> <i>viehent</i>		<i>venons</i> <i>venez</i> <i>vienent</i>	<i>venimes</i> <i>venistes</i> <i>vīndrent</i>
			<i>vien</i> <i>venons</i> <i>venez</i>	<i>venisse</i>

Strong, II

386.

Perfect Indicative

Type 1	Type 2	Type 3
<i>mī s</i>	<i>dúi s</i>	<i>plāin s</i>
<i>mę sīs</i>	<i>dui sīs</i>	<i>plain sīs</i>
<i>mī st</i>	<i>dui st</i>	<i>plain st</i>
<i>mę sīmes</i>	<i>dui sīmes</i>	<i>plain sīmes</i>
<i>mę sīstęs</i>	<i>dui sīstęs</i>	<i>plain sīstęs</i>
<i>mī stręnt</i>	<i>dui stręnt</i>	<i>plain stręnt</i>

Cf. 338. 2 ; 342. 3 ; 349. In the three verbs given above the endings are exactly the same. Why, then, are three paradigms necessary? Partly because of differences (between Type 1 on the one hand and Types 2 and 3 on the other) in handling the stem-vowel, but mainly because they represent the points of departure of three different lines of development during the second period: (1) Verbs ending in *-is*, from analogy with the perfect of *vedeir* (382), came to be conjugated as follows: *mī s*, *mę is* (> *mīs* by 271), *mī st*, *mę īmes*, *mę ištęs*, *mī ręnt*. (2) Verbs in *-uis* (and a few others of various endings), from analogy with Weak, II. a (366), came to be conjugated as follows: *dúi sis*, *dui sis*, *dui sit*, *dui simes*, *dui sistes*, *dui sirent*. (3) Verbs in *-ns*, adopting the endings of Weak, II. a, and their own present-stems, came to be conjugated as follows: *plāh is* [*plaignis*], *plāh is*, *plāh it*, *plāh imes*, *plāh istes*, *plāh irent*. Of course *-imes* became *-imes* (355).

387.

Imperfect Subjunctive

Type 1	Type 2	Type 3
<i>mę sissę</i>	<i>dúi sisse</i>	<i>plāin sisse</i>
<i>me sissęs</i>	<i>dui sisses</i>	<i>plain sisses</i>
<i>me sīst</i>	<i>dui sist</i>	<i>plain sist</i>
<i>me sissōns</i>	<i>dui sissons</i>	<i>plain sissons</i>
<i>me sissēiz</i>	<i>dui sisseiz</i>	<i>plain sisseiz</i>
<i>me sissęnt</i>	<i>dui sissent</i>	<i>plain sissent</i>

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Cf. 343. The subsequent development of these three types corresponds to that of the three types of the perfect indicative, as explained in 386: *mę issę*, *dũi issę*, and *plāñ issę* [*plaignisse*], etc. For the subsequent development of the endings, cf. 367.

388.

ardeir (< <i>ardēre</i>)	<i>ardant</i>	<i>ars</i>	<i>art</i>	<i>ars</i> (Type 2)
			<i>ars</i>	
	<i>arge</i> (pronounced		<i>art</i>	
	<i>ardže</i> —153)		<i>ardons</i>	
			<i>ardez</i>	
			<i>ardent</i> (339. Note)	

As infinitive we find also *ardre*.

Like *ardeir* is conjugated *mordre* (< **mōrdere*), excepting that its stem-vowel is always *o*, and that it has no infinitive in *-eir*. Like *ardeir* are also conjugated *espardre* (< *spārgere*), *syrdre* (< *sōrgere*), *tērdre* (< *tērgere*), *tōrdre* (< **tōrcere*), excepting that their infinitive stem-vowels reappear in all other forms, that their present indicative 2d singulars end in *-s* (*espars*, etc.), and that they have no infinitives in *-eir*.

389.

crembre (< <i>*crēmere</i>)	<i>crēmant</i>	<i>crent</i>	<i>criēñ</i>	<i>crens</i> (Type 3)
(pronounced <i>crāmbre</i> —47. 2)			<i>criens</i>	
			<i>crient</i>	
			<i>crēmons</i>	
crāndrai [<i>crendrai</i>]	<i>criēme</i>		<i>crēmez</i>	
	<i>criemes</i>		<i>criement</i>	
	<i>criemet</i>		(339. Note)	
	<i>crēmons</i>			
	<i>crēmez</i>			
	<i>criement</i>			

Toward the end of the second period all forms of this verb become by analogy like those of *plaindre* (397): infinitive *crāindre*; present participle *crāñant* [*craignant*]; etc.

390.

dire (< <i>dīcere</i>)	<i>disant</i>	<i>dit</i>	<i>di</i>	<i>dis</i>
			<i>dis</i>	(Type 1)
			<i>dit</i>	
	<i>die</i>		<i>dīmes</i>	<i>disons</i>
			<i>ditēs</i>	<i>dēsisse</i>
			<i>dient</i>	

Benedir may be inflected like *dire*, or in accordance with Weak, II. b ; it also has an irregular perfect indicative *benesqui* (inflected like *nasqui*—381½. 1), and an irregular past participle *benedēt*.

Like *dire* is conjugated *despire* (< *despēcere*), excepting that its present indicative plural is *despisona*, *-iez*, *-ent*, and that its present subjunctive is *despise*, etc.

391.

duire (< <i>dūcere</i>)	<i>duisant</i>	<i>duit</i>	<i>dui</i>	<i>duis</i>
				(Type 2)
	<i>duie</i>			

Like *duire* are conjugated *cuire* (< **cōcere*), *estruire* (< **estrūgere*), and *luire* (< **lūcere*), excepting that the stems of their present subjunctives and of their present indicative 3d plurals end in *s* (*cuisse*, etc.)

392.

escriure (< <i>escribere</i>)	<i>escrivant</i>	<i>escrit</i>	<i>escrif</i>	<i>escria</i>
			<i>escria</i>	<i>escria</i>
			<i>escrit</i>	<i>escria</i> etc.
			<i>escrivons</i>	
			<i>escrivez</i>	<i>escria</i>
			<i>escrivent</i>	(339. Note)

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The perfect indicative, although inflected ca. 1100 according to Type 1, did not develop as Type 1 did. Toward the end of the second period we find *escrivis*, *escrivis*, *escrivit*, etc.

393.

<i>fáire</i> (< <i>fácere</i>)	<i>faisant</i>	<i>fait</i>	<i>faz fais</i> <i>fais</i> <i>fait</i>	<i>fis</i> (Type 1)
<i>fēras</i>	<i>face</i> (pronounced <i>fatse</i> —198)	<i>fáimez</i> <i>faitēz</i> <i>fōnt</i>	<i>faisons</i>	<i>fēsisse</i>
		<i>fai</i> <i>faimēs</i> <i>faitēs</i>		

394.

<i>maneir</i> (< <i>manēre</i>)	<i>manant</i>	<i>mēs</i>	<i>māih</i> [<i>maing</i>] <i>māins</i> <i>māint</i>	<i>mēs</i> <i>masis</i> <i>mēst</i>
<i>māndrai</i>	<i>māhe</i> [<i>maigne</i>]	<i>manons</i> <i>manēs</i> <i>māinent</i>		<i>masimes</i> <i>masistes</i> <i>mēstrent</i>
		<i>main</i>		<i>masisse</i>

During the second period this verb became in all its forms like *plaindre* (397). Cf. 389.

395.

<i>mētre</i> (< <i>mēttēre</i>)	<i>mētant</i>	<i>mīs</i>	<i>mēt</i>	<i>mīs</i> (Type 1)
	<i>mēte</i>			<i>mēsisse</i>

396.

ocidre (< * <i>auoidere</i>) (pronounced <i>otsidre</i>)	<i>ocidant</i>	<i>ocis</i>	<i>ociť</i> <i>ocis</i> <i>ocit</i> <i>ocidons</i> <i>ocidez</i> <i>ocident</i> (339. Note)	<i>ocis</i> (Type 1) <i>ocesisse</i>
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397.

pláindre (< <i>plāngere</i>)	<i>plāhant</i> [<i>plaignant</i>]	<i>pláint</i>	<i>pláih</i> [<i>plaing</i>] <i>pláins</i> <i>pláint</i> <i>plāhons</i> [<i>plaignons</i>] <i>plāhiez</i> [<i>plaigniez</i>] <i>plāhent</i> [<i>plaignent</i>]	<i>pláins</i> (Type 3)
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Like *plaindre* are conjugated all verbs in *-aindre*, *-eindre*, and *-oindre*.

398.

prendre (< <i>prēndere</i>) (pronounced <i>prāndre</i>)	<i>prēnant</i>	<i>prīs</i>	<i>pren</i> (pro- nounced <i>prān</i>)	<i>pris</i> (Type 1) <i>prēsisse</i>
	<i>prēhe</i> [<i>preigne</i>]			

399.

querre (< <i>quērere</i>) (pronounced <i>kērre</i> —154)	<i>quęrant</i>	<i>quįs</i>	<i>quięr</i>	<i>quįs</i> (Type 1) <i>quęsisse</i>
	<i>quięre</i> <i>quieres</i> <i>quieret</i> <i>quęrons</i> <i>quęrez</i> <i>quierent</i>			

As infinitive we find also *quęrir*.

400.

<i>riðre</i> (< * <i>riðere</i>)	<i>riðant</i>	<i>ris</i>	<i>rið</i> <i>riz</i> <i>rit</i> <i>riðons</i> <i>riðez</i> <i>riðent</i> (339. Note)	<i>ris</i> (Type 1) <i>resisse</i>
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Like *riðre* are conjugated *cløðre* (< *clāudere*), *cōnclūðre* (< *cōn-clūdere*), and *escōðre* (< *excōtere*), excepting that their infinitive stem-vowels reappear in all other forms.

401.

<i>sēðeir</i> (< <i>sēðere</i>)	<i>sedant</i>	<i>sīs</i>	<i>siēt</i> <i>siez</i> <i>siet</i> <i>sedons</i> <i>sedez</i> <i>siedent</i> (339. Note)	<i>sīs</i> (Type 1) <i>sesisse</i>
	<i>siēde</i> <i>siedes</i> <i>siedet</i> <i>sedons</i> <i>sedez</i> <i>siedent</i>			

402.

<i>søldre</i> (< <i>sølvare</i>)	<i>solvant</i>	<i>solt</i> and <i>sols</i>	<i>suēl'</i> [<i>sucil</i>] <i>suēls</i> <i>suēlt</i> <i>sylons</i> <i>sylez</i> <i>suēlent</i> <i>suēl</i>	<i>sols</i> (Type 2)
	<i>søle</i> [<i>soille</i>]			

403.

<i>tráire</i> (< * <i>trágere</i>)	<i>traiant</i>	<i>trait</i>	<i>trai</i>	<i>trais</i> (Type 2)
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Strong, III

404. The verbs of this class are all alike as regards their provenience—their perfects all coming from VL. perfects in *-xi*—but from the OF. standpoint, on account of numerous small differences both in endings and stems, they must be divided into five types. All of these types (except Type 4) differ from Strong, I and Strong, II, inasmuch as in practically all of their perfect indicative and imperfect subjunctive endings *ū* is present, and in all of them *s* is absent. Type 4, as far as the OF. forms of ca. 1100 are concerned, might be considered as of Strong, I, but in provenience and second period development it is of Strong, III. Notice that Type 5 is strong (338) only from the standpoint of Vulgar Latin; in Old French it has no stem-stressed forms.

Perfect Indicative

Type 1	Type 2	Type 3
<i>ôï</i> (< <i>ábūi</i>)	<i>dūi</i> (< <i>dēbūi</i>)	<i>nūi</i> (< <i>nôcūi</i>)
<i>q ūs</i>	<i>dē ūs</i>	<i>nq ūs</i>
<i>ôu t</i>	<i>dū t</i>	<i>nū t</i>
<i>q ūmēs</i>	<i>dē ūmēs</i>	<i>nq ūmēs</i>
<i>q ūstēs</i>	<i>dē ūstēs</i>	<i>nq ūstēs</i>
<i>ôu rēnt</i>	<i>dū rēnt</i>	<i>nū rēnt</i>
Type 4	Type 5	
<i>vôil</i> (< <i>vôlūi</i>)	<i>val ūi</i> (< <i>válūi</i>)	
<i>vul is</i> [<i>vul-</i> , <i>vol-</i> , and	<i>val ūs</i>	
<i>vpl t</i> <i>voul-</i> , cf. 91]	<i>val ūt</i>	
<i>vul ūmēs</i>	<i>val ūmēs</i>	
<i>vul ūstēs</i>	<i>val ūstēs</i>	
<i>vpl drēnt</i>	<i>val ūrēnt</i>	

Cf. 338. 2; 342. 3; 349. During the second OF. period, *voil* (which was the only verb of Type 4) was completely assimilated to Type 5, becoming *vulūi* (231), *vulūs*, etc. Toward the end of the period all the 1st singulars adopted the ending *-ūs*, from analogy with

Strong, II : for example, *valūs*. All the 1st plurals inserted an *s* (355). The ending-stressed forms of Types 1, 2, and 3 became *ūs* [*eus*], *ũmēs*, *ũstēs* ; *dūs*, *dũmēs*, *dũstēs* ; *nūs*, *nũmēs*, *nũstēs* ; in Type 2 these developments were normal (271) ; in Types 1 and 3 they were from analogy with Type 2.

405.

Imperfect Subjunctive

Type 1	Type 2	Type 3
ę ũssę	dę ũssę	nę ũssę
o ũssęs	de ũssęs	no ũssęs
u ũst	de ũst	no ũst
o ũssęņs	de ũssęņs	no ũssęņs
n ũssęiz	de ũssęiz	no ũssęiz
u ũssęnt	de ũssęnt	no ũssęnt

Type 4	Type 5
vul įssę	val ũssę
vul įssęs	val ũssęs
vul įst	val ũst
vul įssęņs	val ũssęņs
vul įssęiz	val ũssęiz
vul įssęnt	val ũssęnt

Cf. 343 ; 349. The pretonic vowels of Types 1, 2, and 3 developed as did the pretonic vowels of the perfect indicatives (404). During the second period *-ussons* and *-ussez* became *-ussions* and *-ussiez* (356).

406.

aveir (< <i>abēre</i>)	<i>avant</i>	<i>ęūt</i>	<i>ái</i>	<i>oi</i> (Type 1)
	<i>and</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>as</i>	
	<i>aiant</i>	<i>ęūt</i>	<i>at</i>	
	(pronounced		<i>avons</i>	<i>ousse</i>
	<i>aiyant</i> —152)		<i>avez</i>	
			<i>ęnt</i>	
	<i>aveie</i>			

aie (pronounced
aies *aiyē*—151)
aii
aions
aiies (340)
aient

aies
aions
aiies

407.

<i>béivre</i> (< <i>bēbere</i>)	<i>bęrant</i>	<i>bęüt</i>	<i>beif</i> (339. Note)	<i>bui</i> (Type 2)
<i>bęvrai</i>	<i>beive</i> <i>beives</i> <i>beivet</i> <i>bęvons</i> <i>bęvez</i> <i>beivent</i>			<i>bousse</i>

408.

<i>chadeir</i> (< <i>*cadēre</i>)	<i>chędant</i>	<i>chędüt</i>	<i>chięt</i> <i>chiez</i> <i>chiet</i> <i>chędons</i> <i>chędez</i> <i>chiedent</i> (339. Note)	<i>chędi</i> <i>chędis</i> <i>chedit</i> <i>chędimes</i> <i>chędistes</i> <i>chędirent</i>
<i>chadrai</i> and <i>chędrai</i>	<i>chięde</i> <i>chiedes</i> <i>chiedet</i> <i>chędons</i> <i>chędez</i> <i>chiedent</i>			

As far as these OF. forms of ca. 1100 are concerned, *chadeir* is an irregular verb of Weak, II. a. But during the second period it adopted, in the perfect indicative and imperfect subjunctive, the endings of Strong, III, Type 5.

409.

conoistre (< <i>cōnnōscere</i>) (pronounced <i>cōnōistre</i>)	<i>conoissant</i>	<i>conçūt</i> and <i>conçūt</i>	<i>conoīs</i>	<i>conui</i> (Type 3)
				<i>conouisse</i>

410.

creïdre (< <i>crēdere</i>)	<i>cređant</i>	<i>cređūt</i>	<i>creit</i> <i>creiz</i> <i>creit</i>	<i>crui</i> <i>cređus</i> (Type 2)
<i>cređrai</i>	<i>creide</i> <i>creides</i> <i>creideť</i> <i>cređons</i> <i>cređez</i> <i>creident</i>		<i>cređons</i> <i>cređez</i> <i>creident</i> (339. Note)	<i>cređusse</i>

411.

crēistre (< <i>crēscere</i>)	<i>creissant</i>	<i>creūt</i>	<i>creis</i>	<i>crui</i> (Type 2)
				<i>creuisse</i>

412.

curre (< <i>cōrrere</i>) [<i>curre</i> , <i>corre</i> , and <i>courre</i> —66]	<i>current</i>	<i>currūt</i>	<i>cur</i> <i>curs</i> <i>curt</i> <i>currons</i> <i>currez</i> <i>current</i>	<i>curruī</i> (Type 5)
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As infinitive we find also, toward the end of the second period, *curir*.

413.

<i>dɛvɛir</i> (< <i>dɛbɛrɛ</i>)	<i>devant</i>		<i>dɛvüt</i>	<i>dɛi</i> <i>dɛis</i> <i>dɛit</i>	<i>dui</i> (Type 2)
	<i>dɛie</i>	<i>dɛive</i>		<i>devons</i>	
	<i>dɛies</i>	<i>dɛives</i>		<i>devez</i>	<i>deusse</i>
	<i>dɛiet</i>	<i>dɛivet</i>		<i>deivent</i>	
	<i>dɛions</i>	<i>devons</i>			
	<i>dɛiez</i> (340)	<i>devez</i>			
	<i>dɛient</i>	<i>deivent</i>			
			<i>dɛif</i>		

Deie is pronounced *dɛiyɛ* (151) ; *deions* is pronounced *dɛiyõns* (152).

414.

<i>dulɛir</i> (< <i>dɔlɛrɛ</i>) [<i>dulɛir</i> , <i>dolɛir</i> , and <i>douleir</i> —91]	<i>dulant</i>	<i>dulüt</i>	<i>duél'</i> [<i>dueil</i>] <i>duéls</i> <i>duélt</i> <i>duõlons</i> <i>dulez</i> <i>duélent</i>	<i>dului</i> (Type 5)
<i>duldrai</i>	<i>duéle</i> [<i>duelle</i>] <i>duéles</i> <i>duélet</i> <i>duõlons</i> [<i>duillions</i> , <i>dulez</i> <i>doillions</i> , and <i>duélent</i> <i>douillions</i>]		<i>duél</i>	

415.

<i>ɛstɛr</i> (< <i>ɛstɛrɛ</i>)	<i>estant</i>	<i>estët</i>	<i>estõis</i> <i>estas</i> <i>estat</i> <i>estons</i> <i>estez</i> <i>estõnt</i>	<i>estui</i> (Type 2)
<i>estɛrai</i>	<i>estõise</i>			<i>esteusse</i>
			<i>estu</i>	

416.

<i>ɛstuɛir</i> (< * <i>ɛstopɛrɛ</i>) (an impersonal verb—'to be necessary')	—	—	—	—
	<i>estuvët</i>		<i>estruët</i>	<i>estüt</i>
	<i>estüissët</i> and <i>estüist</i>			<i>estëüst</i>

418.

gesir (< <i>jacêre</i>) (pronounced <i>džęzir</i> —150)	<i>gęsant</i>	<i>gęūt</i>	<i>giš</i>	<i>jui</i> (Type 2)
			<i>giš</i>	
			<i>gišt</i>	
	<i>giše</i>		<i>gęsons gęusse</i>	
			<i>gęsiez</i> (339)	
<i>gęrai</i>			<i>gišent</i>	

Like *gesir* is conjugated the impersonal verb *lęisir* (< *lęcêre*), excepting that wherever *gesir* has *gę-*, *lęisir* has *lęi-*.

419.

lire (< <i>lęgere</i>)	<i>lisant</i>	<i>lęūt</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>lui</i> (Type 2)
			<i>lis</i>	
			<i>līt</i>	<i>leusse</i>
			<i>lisona</i>	
			<i>lisiez</i> (339)	
			<i>lisent</i>	

Lire has also a perfect indicative and imperfect subjunctive inflected by Strong, II, Type 1: *lis*, etc.; *lesisse*, etc.

420.

murir (< <i>*męřire</i>) [<i>murir</i> , <i>morir</i> , and <i>mourir</i> —91]	<i>murant</i>	<i>męrt</i>	<i>mũir</i>	<i>murui</i> (Type 5)
			<i>muęrs</i>	
			<i>muert</i>	
	<i>mũire</i>	<i>sui mort</i>	<i>murons</i>	
			<i>murez</i>	
			<i>muerent</i>	
			muert	

421.

muveir (< <i>męvêre</i>) [<i>muveir</i> , <i>moveir</i> , and <i>mouveir</i> —91]	<i>muvant</i>	<i>męũi</i> and <i>ęęūt</i>	<i>muęf</i> (339. Note)	<i>mui</i> (Type 3)
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<i>muēve</i>	<i>mouisse</i>
<i>mueves</i>	
<i>muevet</i>	
<i>muuonni</i>	
<i>muvez</i>	
<i>muevent</i>	

422.

<i>nūisir</i> (< <i>noçêre</i>)	<i>nuisant</i>	<i>nōūt</i> and <i>nēūt</i>	<i>nuis</i>	<i>nui</i> (Type 3)
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*nuirai**nousse*As infinitive we find also *nuire*.

423.

<i>pareir</i> (< <i>parêre</i>)	<i>parant</i>	<i>parūt</i>	<i>pēr</i>	<i>parui</i> (Type 5)
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páire

424.

<i>pláisir</i> (< <i>placêre</i>)	<i>plaisant</i>	<i>plōūt</i> and <i>plēūt</i>	<i>plais</i> <i>plais</i> <i>plaist</i>	<i>ploi</i> (Type 1)
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plairai

place (pronounced
platsē—198)
plaissions *plousse*
plaisiez (339)
plaisent

As infinitive we find also *plaire*.

425.

<i>pluveir</i> (< <i>*plovēre</i>)	<i>pluvant</i>	<i>plōūt</i> and <i>plēūt</i>	<i>pluēf</i> (339. Note)	<i>plui</i> (Type 3)
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[*pluveir*, *ploveir*,
and *plouveir*—91]

pluēve
plueves
pluevet
pluvons
pluvez
pluevent

plousse

426.

pudeir (< * <i>pōtēre</i>) [<i>pudeir</i> , <i>podeir</i> and <i>poudeir</i> —91]	<i>puđant</i>	<i>pođūt</i>	<i>púis</i> <i>puř</i> <i>pueť</i>	<i>poi</i> (Type 1) <i>pođus</i>
	<i>púisse</i>		<i>puđons</i>	
	<i>puissea</i>		<i>puđez</i>	<i>pođusse</i>
	<i>puisset</i> <i>puist</i>		<i>puedent</i>	
	<i>puissons</i>			
	<i>puissiez</i> (340)			
	<i>puissent</i>		No imperative	

427.

receiving (< <i>rečēpere</i>)	<i>rečevant</i>	<i>rečūt</i>	<i>rečēif</i> (339. Note)	<i>recui</i> (Type 2)
<i>rečevrai</i>	<i>rečēive</i> <i>receives</i> <i>receivet</i> <i>recevons</i> <i>recevez</i> <i>receivent</i>			<i>receusse</i>

As infinitive we find also *rečevuir*.

428.

savoir (< <i>sapēre</i>)	<i>sachant</i>	<i>squť</i> and <i>sčūt</i>	<i>súi</i> <i>sēs</i> <i>sčť</i>	<i>soi</i> (Type 1)
	<i>sacheie</i>		<i>savons</i> <i>sivons</i> <i>sčvent</i>	<i>sousse</i>
	<i>sache</i> (pronounced <i>satšē</i> —192. 1)		<i>saches</i> <i>sachons</i> <i>sachiez</i>	

429.

valeir (< <i>valère</i>)	<i>valant</i> and <i>vaillant</i>	<i>valūt</i>	<i>val'</i> [<i>vail</i>] <i>vāus</i> <i>vāut</i> <i>valons</i> <i>valez</i> <i>valent</i>	<i>valui</i> (Type 5)
<i>vāudrai</i> (174)				
	<i>valeie</i>			

vaille (pronounced
va'ē—200)

No imperative

430.

vuleir (< * <i>vplēre</i>)	<i>vulant</i> and <i>vuillant</i>	<i>vulūt</i>	<i>vuēl'</i> [<i>vueil</i>] <i>vuēls</i> <i>vuēlt</i> <i>vylons</i> <i>vylez</i> <i>vuēlent</i>	<i>voil</i> (Type 4)
[<i>vuleir</i> , <i>voleir</i> , and <i>vouleir</i> —91]				
<i>vuldrai</i>	<i>vuleie</i>			<i>vulisse</i>

vuēle [*vucille*]
vuēles
vuēlet
vylons [*vuillons*, *voillons*,
vuliez (340) and *vuillons*]
vuēlent

Vuleir also had a perfect indicative and imperfect subjunctive inflected according to Strong, II: *vpls*, *vulsis*, etc.; *vulsisse*, etc.

Reference List of Irregular Verbs

431. Following is an alphabetical list of the irregular verbs whose forms have been given in tabular form (361) in the preceding sections. We have thus given by no means all the irregular verbs of Old French. Indeed, a regular verb being one all of whose forms

may be inferred from the principal parts (361), almost every Old French verb of ca. 1100 is irregular (339. Note, and 348). Even *chanter*, which we have used as the paradigm for Weak, I, is irregular in its present subjunctive 3d singular, as may be seen from the table in 361. It being impracticable, therefore, to give in tabular form all the irregular verbs, we have presented only those possessing the greatest number of irregularities, and those possessing the most unusual irregularities. We have not given, however, any verb of very rare usage. In the following list compounds presenting no peculiarity are omitted if the simple verb occurs. The references are to sections.

<i>aler</i>	361. 1	<i>cuvrir</i>	371½. 3
<i>ardeir</i> }		<i>deceivre</i> }	
<i>ardre</i> }	388	<i>deceveir</i> }	427
<i>ascrivre</i>	392	<i>despire</i>	390
<i>ataindre</i>	397	<i>deveir</i>	413
<i>aveir</i>	406	<i>dire</i>	390
<i>beivre</i>	407	<i>doner</i>	361. 2
<i>benedir</i>	390	<i>duire</i>	391
<i>bulir</i>	371½. 1	<i>duleir</i>	414
<i>ceindre</i>	397	<i>eissir</i> }	
<i>chadeir</i>	408	<i>eistre</i> }	371½. 4
<i>chaleir</i>	429	<i>escoudre</i>	400
<i>clodre</i>	400	<i>escrivre</i>	392
<i>coillir</i>	371½. 2	<i>espandre</i>	388
<i>conceivre</i> }		<i>esteindre</i>	397
<i>conceveir</i> }	427	<i>ester</i>	415
<i>concludre</i>	400	<i>estre</i>	417
<i>conoistre</i>	409	<i>estreindre</i>	397
<i>creidre</i>	410	<i>estruire</i>	391
<i>creistre</i>	411	<i>estuveir</i>	416
<i>crembre</i>	389	<i>faire</i>	393
<i>cuire</i>	391	<i>falir</i>	371½. 5
<i>curir</i> }		<i>feindre</i>	397
<i>curre</i> }	412	<i>ferir</i>	371½. 6

<i>fraindre</i>	397	<i>poindre</i>	397
<i>gesir</i>	418	<i>prembre</i>	389
<i>gembre</i>	389	<i>prendre</i>	398
<i>guarir</i>	373½	<i>pruver</i>	361. 3
<i>hadir</i>	371½. 7	<i>pudeir</i>	426
<i>issir</i>	371½. 4	<i>querir</i> }	399
<i>joindre</i>	397	<i>querre</i> }	
<i>leisir</i>	418	<i>raembre</i>	389
<i>lire</i>	419	<i>receivre</i> }	427
<i>luire</i>	391	<i>receveir</i> }	
<i>maneir</i>	394	<i>ridre</i>	400
<i>menteivre</i> }	427	<i>ruver</i>	361. 3
<i>menteveir</i> }		<i>sakir</i>	371½. 5
<i>metre</i>	395	<i>saveir</i>	428
<i>mordre</i>	388	<i>sedeir</i>	401
<i>muleir</i>	414	<i>soldre</i>	402
<i>murir</i>	420	<i>sufrir</i>	371½. 3
<i>muveir</i>	421	<i>suleir</i>	414
<i>naistre</i>	381½. 1	<i>surdre</i>	388
<i>nuire</i> }	422	<i>taire</i> }	424
<i>nuisir</i> }		<i>taisir</i> }	
<i>ocidre</i>	396	<i>teindre</i>	397
<i>odir</i>	371½. 8	<i>tenir</i>	385
<i>ofrir</i>	371½. 9	<i>terdre</i>	388
<i>oindre</i>	397	<i>tordre</i>	388
<i>paindre</i>	397	<i>traire</i>	403
<i>pareir</i>	423	<i>truver</i>	361. 3
<i>peindre</i>	397	<i>valeir</i>	429
<i>perceivre</i> }	427	<i>vedeir</i>	384
<i>perceveir</i> }		<i>veintre</i>	381½. 2
<i>plaindre</i>	397	<i>venir</i>	385
<i>plaire</i> }	424	<i>vestir</i>	371½. 10
<i>plaisir</i> }		<i>vivre</i>	381½. 3
<i>pluveir</i>	425	<i>vuleir</i>	430

APPENDIX

How to Use this Book

This book has two purposes : (1) to introduce students to the difficult subject of Old French Phonology and Morphology ; and (2) to prepare them to use a grammar (the so-called *Schwan-Behrens*) which will carry them far beyond the introductory stage. Both of these purposes may be best served by the system of written exercises explained in the following pages.

Before the student is asked to prepare any written exercises, he should read §§ 1 to 206, so that he may understand the arrangement and method of presentation of those paragraphs. The teacher should also explain how Körting's *Lateinisch-Romanisches Wörterbuch*, the *Dictionnaire Général* of Hatzfeld and Darmesteter, and the *Romanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* of Meyer-Lübke may be used for finding the Vulgar Latin words from which Old French words are derived.

The teacher should then give the student some word whose development presents no phonetic irregularities and involves no questions of morphology ; such a word, for example, as *Mai*. Supplying the student with no further information than that the orthography of the word, about the year 1100, was *Mai*, he should ask him to write, with the aid of §§ 1 to 206, the phonetic history of the development of the word out of Vulgar Latin into Old French.

For pedagogical reasons which will be obvious, the student should be required to present his work in some conventional manner. The effectiveness of the following method has been proved by experience. At the top of the page should stand what may be called the history in brief of the word's development. This should consist of (1) the phonetic transcription of the Vulgar Latin word, which may be obtained by taking it as it stands in Körting, or the *Dictionnaire Général*, or *Meyer-Lübke*, and rewriting it in accordance with §§ 15 to 30 of the grammar ; (2) the Classical Latin form of the word, in parentheses,

with all quantities carefully marked ; (3) the sign >, followed by the phonetic transcription of the word as it was about 1100 ; and (4) the orthography of 1100, in brackets.

In writing this 'history in brief,' the student should observe the following rules, which are designed to make him use all diacritic marks which are pedagogically useful, and not to use any which would distract his attention from the more important points at issue. In writing the phonetic transcription of the Vulgar Latin word, he should mark the *quality* of the tonic vowel and of the initial-syllable pretonic vowel. In writing the Classical Latin form, he should mark the *quantity* of every vowel, using any good Latin grammar for that purpose. In writing the phonetic transcription of the Old French word, he should mark the quality of each vowel, except the unstressed vowels of diphthongs and triphthongs. In writing the orthography of 1100, he should enclose it in brackets, so that he may become accustomed to the device, used throughout this grammar, of indicating orthography by brackets. Accents should be used very carefully. They should *always* be used in the phonetic transcription of the Vulgar Latin word, to indicate the primary and secondary stress. They should *never* be used in writing the Classical Latin word, for the rules for Classical Latin accent are simple and easily remembered, and it is better to concentrate one's whole attention on the quantity of the vowels. In the phonetic transcription of the Old French word, accents should be used only to show which of the vowels of a diphthong or triphthong receives more stress. There is no need of using them to mark the word-stress, for the primary stress may be placed by an invariable rule (on the ultima unless the ultima vowel be *e*, in that case on the penult), and the secondary stress is of little importance. In writing the orthography of 1100, accents should be used only in those rare cases where Old French orthography really used them.

Beneath the 'history in brief' should stand, on the student's paper, a detailed explanation of the development of each sound of the Vulgar Latin word, with the grammar references pertaining to each.

If the student follows all the above instructions, his written exercise for the word *Mai* will take the following form :

máyu (*Mājūm*) > *mēi* [*Mai*]

179. Initial nasal consonants remain intact.
56. *a* and epenthetic *i* combine in the diphthong *ái*, which then becomes the sound *ēi*, though the orthography continues *ai*.
151. Posttonic intervocal *y* remains *y*, at the same time generating an epenthetic *i* after the preceding vowel. But when the *y* comes to be final in OF., it disappears.
78. 2. Final vowels other than *a* generally disappear about the eighth century.

It is hardly necessary to point out that the student cannot arrive at the above result without a good deal of preliminary work. He cannot write the first word (*máyu*) of his 'history in brief' until he has found the correct form of the second (*Mājūm*). He cannot write the third word until he has looked up all the paragraphs cited below the 'history in brief' (§§ 179, 56, 151, and 78. 2). He cannot be sure that § 56 applies to the question in hand until he is sure that § 151 applies also. He cannot be satisfied with his final result unless the phonetic transcription of the Old French word is such as to allow the orthography which the teacher has given him at the outset. Only after he has followed many scents far enough to find that they are false, will he at last attain the correct result, the correctness of which will be obvious from the fact that the various elements of his 'history in brief' fit together. But by that time he will not only fully understand the development of the word ; he will also have learned a great deal about the arrangement of the grammar.

The following words are suggested as offering no difficulties which cannot be explained by §§ 1 to 206 : *tiedes*, *chanter*, *peindre*. Teachers will be able easily to provide others.

When the student is accustomed to these simpler etymological problems, he will be ready for harder ones. First, of course, he should read and understand the remainder of the grammar. Then he should be asked to explain the development of words out of the Vulgar Latin and through *both* Old French periods, and should be given words, moreover, which involve questions of morphology. Let us suppose, for example, that he is set the task of writing the complete history of *traissistes*.

As in the case of the simpler problems, the teacher is to supply only the information that about 1100 the orthography of the word was *traissistes*. The student should know enough to realize, from the ending of the word, that it is a verb. It will not be difficult for him to find out, either by consulting the Reference List of Irregular Verbs on pp. 141-2, or by search in *Körting* or the *Dictionnaire Général*, that it is a form of the verb *traire*. That conclusion once reached, the explanation of the word will require only persistent thumbing of the grammar. The result should be as follows :

traksēstis (*trāxistīs*) > *tréisiſtēs* [*traissistes*]

- 115. Initial dental mutes remain intact.
- 169. Postconsonantal *r* remains intact.
- 90. Pretonic *a* + epenthetic *i* results in *ái*, which then becomes *éi*, though the orthography remains *ai*.
- 158. 1. When the group palatal + consonant follows a vowel, the palatal becomes *y*, which then palatalizes the consonant. This palatalization then disappears, but not before generating an epenthetic *i* after the preceding vowel.
- 131. Postconsonantal *s* remains *s*, written *ss* when intervocal.
- 342. 3. The OF. Perfect Indicative 1st and 2d plural endings of Strong, II are from analogy with Weak, II. Instead, therefore, of explaining the development of

VL. *-ēstis*, we must explain how the VL. ending *-īstis* of a form like *partīstis* became *-īstēs* (342. 1).

36. Checked *ī* before oral consonants remains *ī*.
128. Before surd mutes *s* remains intact.
122. 1. In primary groups which did not come to be final in OF., *t* remained intact.
342. 1. The retention, in the OF. ending *-īstēs*, of the unstressed vowel of the VL. ending *-īstis*, cannot be satisfactorily explained. It is contrary to 78. 3, which states that ultima vowels (other than *a*) followed by a single consonant generally disappear about the eighth century.
132. Final *s* remains intact.

$$trēisīstēs > trēsītēs \text{ [traissistes]}^*$$
272. By implication, initial *tr* remains unchanged throughout the period.
270. Initial-syllable pretonic diphthongs standing before a consonant usually develop like the corresponding tonic diphthongs. Therefore, by §223, *ēi* becomes *ē* during the first half of the period. This *ē* remains intact, except when it comes to be final. The orthography is *ai*.
272. By implication, intervocal *s* remains unchanged throughout the period.
209. Tonic *ī* remains intact.
280. Preconsonantal *s* becomes silent during the thirteenth century, though it remains in the orthography.
272. By implication, postconsonantal *t* remains unchanged throughout the period.

*It is hardly necessary to point out that the 'history in brief' of the second period consists of three parts : (1) the phonetic transcription of the word of about 1100; (2) the phonetic transcription of the word of about 1515; and (3) the orthography of about 1515.

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265. Unstressed *e* in the ultima remains intact.
275. Final *s* remains intact.

The following words are suggested as offering no difficulties not accounted for in this book : *nid, ouvrier, abregier, tesmoign, raison, femme, vedistes, plaisez, venges, aimons*. The teacher will be able easily to supply others.

As a result of two or three months of this kind of work, the student will gain a fundamental knowledge of elementary Old French phonology and morphology, upon which foundation he will be able to build solidly, no matter what advanced grammar he may afterwards use. If, however, his advanced grammar is the *Schwan-Behrens*, he will have the advantage of knowing from the first how to use it. Thus the two aims of the present book will have been attained.

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